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NEWMAN'S LIVES OF THE ENGLISH SAINTS

VOL. II.

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ET DELECTABUNTUR
IN MULTITUDINE PACIS



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(C.C.C., Oxford, B.A. 1838, M.A. 1841)

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THE LIVES OF THE ENGLISH SAINTS

WRITTEN BY VARIOUS HANDS AT THE SUGGESTION OF

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

AFTERWARDS CARDINAL

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOLUME TWO

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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THE FAMILY OF

ST. RICHARD THE SAXON

St. RICHARD, King
St. WILLIBALD, Bishop
St. WALBURGA, Virgin Abbess
St. WINIBALD, Abbot

ADVERTISEMENT

THE following pages were put to press with the view of forming part of a series of Lives of English Saints, according to a prospectus which appeared in the course of last autumn, but which has since, for private reasons, been superseded. As it is not the only work undertaken in pursuance of the plan then in contemplation, it is probable, that, should it meet with success, other Lives, now partly written, will be published in a similar form by their respective authors on their own responsibility.

The question will naturally suggest itself to the reader, whether the miracles recorded in these narratives, especially those contained in the Life of St. Walburga, are to be received as matters of fact; and in this day, and under our present circumstances, we can only reply, that there is no reason why they should not be. They are the kind of facts proper to ecclesiastical history, just as instances of sagacity and daring, personal prowess or crime, are the facts proper to secular history. And if the tendency of credulity or superstition to exaggerate and invent creates a difficulty in the reception of facts ecclesiastical, so does the existence of party spirit, private interests, personal attachments, malevolence, and the like, call for caution and criticism

in the reception of facts secular and civil. There is little or nothing, then, *primâ facie*, in the miraculous accounts in question to repel a properly taught and religiously disposed mind; which will, accordingly, give them a prompt and hearty acquiescence, or a passive admission, or receive them in part, or hold them in suspense, or absolutely reject them, according as the evidence makes for or against them, or is or is not of a trustworthy character.

As to the miracles ascribed to St. Walburga, it must be remembered that she is one of the principal Saints of her age and country. "Scarcely any of the illustrious females of Old or New Testament can be named," says J. Basnage, "who has had so many heralds of her praises as Walburga; for, not to speak of her own brother Willibald, who is reported, without foundation, to have been his sister's panegyrist, six writers are extant, who have employed themselves in relating the deeds or miracles of Walburga—Wolfhard, Adelbold, Medibard, Adelbert, Philip, and the nuns of St. Walburga's monastery."—Ap. Canis. Lect. Ant. t. ii. Part iii. p. 265.

Nor was this renown the mere natural growth of ages. It begins within the very century of the Saint's death. At the end of that time Wolfhard, a monk of the diocese of Aichstadt, where her relics lay, drew up an account of her life, and of certain miracles which had been wrought in the course of three years, about the time he wrote, by a portion of her relics bestowed upon the monastery of Monheim in Bavaria; his information, at least in part, coming from the monk who had the placing

of the sacred treasure in its new abode. The two mentioned below, p. 97, seem the only miracles which were distinctly reported of her as occurring in her lifetime, and they were handed down apparently by tradition: "hæc duo tantum præclara miracula," says Wolfhard, "quæ Virgo beata peregit in vitâ, huic inserere dignum putavi opusculo, quæ nostram ad memoriam pervenere." He speaks of the miracles after her death as "quæ hactenus Dominus per eam operatus est, et operatur quotidie;" and of their beginning shortly after her death (A.D. 777 or 780), "parvo interjecto tempore," though those recorded do not commence till the episcopate of Otkar, whom Henschenius considers to have been a bishop of the Council of Mayence in 848, while others place him some years later, that is, in Wolfhard's own time.

Wolfhard speaks distinctly of the miraculous oil (vid. below, p. 112) as then dropping: "invenerunt cineres," he says, speaking of the date, 893, "quasi lymphâ tenui madefactos, ut quasi guttatim ab eis roris stillæ extorqueri valerent." Also Philip, Bishop of Aichstadt, A.D. 1306, one of the biographers of the Saint, as above mentioned, speaks of the existence of the oil in his day: "miracula usque in hodiernum diem continuata feliciter crebescunt. Nam de membris ejus virgineis, maxime tamen pectoralibus, sacrum emanat oleum, quod gratiâ Dei et intercessione B. Walpurgæ Virginis cæcos illuminat, surdos audire facit," &c. Nay, he speaks of his own recovery, by means of it, from a critical illness: "Phialam plenam ebibimus; eâdem die creticavimus, et brevi pòst in tempore, sanitati omnimodè

restituti sumus." The nuns of Aichstadt, who drew up the epitome at an unknown date, but after the invention of printing, say the same thing; Mabill. Act. Bened. s. sec. 3, p. 2, p. 307. Rader, in his Bavaria Sacra (1615), speaks of cures in his time, one of which was told him by the subject of it; and Gretser, in like manner, speaks of the miracle as then existing (1620), "videas guttas modò majores, modò minores," &c., and has written a treatise in defence of it.

It may be right to add, that Mabillon, in his edition of Wolfhard's work, professes to omit, without assigning reason, some of the miracles it contains: which J. Basnage attributes to disbelief of them: "Mabillonius, vir acutæ naris, plurima ex singulis libris omisit, nec sibi metuens lectorem monuit." Moreover, a report has come down to us, that at one time Wolfhard himself was put into prison by Erconwold, the Bishop at whose instance he had written, "cum graviter contra Episcopum deliquisset," "in consequence of grave offences against the Bishop."

J. H. N.

LITTLEMORE, *February* 21, 1844.

LIFE OF

ST. RICHARD

KING OF THE WEST SAXONS—DIED 722

RELIGION produces great fruits when it has found a strong deep soil in which it may grow. Its majestic principles then find room and supply enough to spring out into their stature. Such were the hearts of our Saxon ancestors, when newly won over to the Faith. Their firm resolve, and bold determination of character, when brought under the power of Christianity, led to examples of stern uncompromising sacrifice.

This remark will aid to explain the striking scene which their history presents at the close of the seventh century, when we see kings counting thrones as nothing, and freely casting away their crowns, to follow in simplicity the poverty of the cross. Kenred, king of Mercia, Offa, prince of East Angles,[1] Ceadwall and Ina of West Angles, gave a new lesson to mankind; and the world, astonished, beheld warriors and princes resign their pride and glory as a burden, and choose, as some

[1] Bede, Eccl. Hist. v. 19.

better thing, the meek and lowly service of religion. The example was stirring, and naturally drew others after it; a succession of devout wanderers left their English homes, seeking the spots which the Apostles had trod, Rome and the Holy Land. "About this time," says Bede, speaking of the beginning of the eighth century, "multitudes of English people did so commonly, both of high rank, and of low estate, clergy and laity, and women too as well."[1]

Saint Richard is to be reckoned among the number of the men of birth spoken of in this passage. Little can be positively ascertained of his early history and parentage, or even of his title to the name of king. No written life is preserved of him, except some brief accounts of later date, compiled from scanty notices and from the lives of his three children. That he was of royal descent seems allowed. His sons are spoken of as "the sons of a king," and his daughter as "a king's daughter." His kinsman St. Boniface is said to be "of royal blood." His mother is called the sister of some Offa, but whether of East Angles or some other is disputable. The place of the kingdom assigned to him is determined by the statement, "that St. Boniface was born in his kingdom." The birthplace of St. Boniface was Kirton (Crediton) in Devon, so that this account would give him some portion of the kingdom of the West Angles; and localities incidentally mentioned would bring his residence to some part of Hampshire or Kent.

Probably he was one of the rich thanes or sub-

[1] Eccl. Hist. v. 7.

reguli, among whom the Saxons were at times divided. Such was the case for ten years between the death of Kentwin and the reign of Ceadwall,[1] and again in the time of Æthelhard the successor of Ina. In the year 686, Ceadwall reduced the whole; subduing the petty kings, and adding the Isle of Wight, which St. Wilfrid had converted from idolatry to Christianity.[2]

In the period between Kentwin and Ina St. Richard was born, according to the Bollandists, in the reign of Ceadwall.[3] "From his childhood he was deeply imbued with Christianity." These few words contain the sum of what is known of his early life. But though brief, they say much. Natural strength of character, noble birth and wealth, are nothing positive in themselves; they imply increase of trial and larger capacity of good or evil: but when deep feelings and great powers are brought under the control of sublime principles, then it is that men are framed, excelling in action, and mighty in influence. The soul of man seems then like some powerful instrument touched by a master-hand, and brought out into full play. Therefore, little more needs to be added to the simple statement that, born in circumstance a wealthy and noble prince, he was early a devout Christian.

[1] Gul. Malmsb. Vit. Aldhelmi. Lib. v. De Pont. Sec. 2.

[2] Florentius Vigorn. Chronic. an. 686.

[3] According to the historian Hume, St. Richard was son of Lothaire, king of Kent, and this is borne out by the Salisbury Service book, in which he is so called; the last is of great authority, and this would make the date of his birth considerably earlier, as Lothaire was spoiled of his kingdom by Ceadwall.

Tradition connects him with St. Ina,[1] and his mother with the royal Mercian race. Such education and extraction well befitted one who was to be the father of a family of saints. Staid and settled characters of habitual piety and gravity, when joined to a courteous behaviour and noble open bearing, form the true model of the head of a household. Such men are found faithful to their trust, and bring up their children after them in gentle reverence and willing obedience. His wife and queen, according to tradition, was Winna the sister of Winfrid, the great St. Boniface, at that time, in the year 700, a monk in the monastery of Nutschelle in Dorset, and about twenty years of age. Winna bore him two sons, who were named Willibald and Winibald. Willibald is usually supposed to be the youngest by three years, and the dates of their respective births are set, of Winibald at 701, and Willibald 704. But there seems good reason for giving the priority of age to Willibald, and altering their births to the successive years 701 and 702. Winibald is argued to be the eldest, on the sole ground of a date which cannot be certainly verified. And there is considerable evidence on the other side. St. Willibald is always placed first in order in the authentic documents of their lives. This to be sure does not prove much, for being the more distinguished saint he might naturally be put first, and the deference paid to him by his brother, and the leading decisive part he takes in their history, as well as the pre-

[1] Bolland., Feb. 7, Vita S. Ricardi, Præf. v. 25.

cedence given him by St. Boniface their uncle, might be explained in the same way; but the writer of their lives, who is plainly familiar with their early circumstances, and who is supposed to be St. Walburga herself, their younger sister, speaks expressly in the story of his early sickness, that his parents grieved for him as their "representative and heir," and in the tradition and prayer at Aichstadt, where he was bishop, he is solemnly named as "heir to an English throne."

It is observed by an old writer, that it is a peculiar feature of the English Saxons, that many holy saints are found in one family together.[1] Perhaps this pleasing circumstance is to be connected with and explained by that domestic cast of character which seems to be national. A holy family is the highest image the mind can conceive; and if it is interesting to mark the working of the power of Christianity on individual biography, as it subdues and moulds, like a refining fire, the several ingredients of an earthly temper, and brings them out into a heavenly beauty, it is still more so to trace the magical effect upon a family group, when the separate holy characteristics come out distinctly into light and pleasing variety, like the budding of a beautiful plant into its several delicate ramifications of tendrils, flowers, and leaves.

Willibald and Winibald both inherited the same deep resolve and Saxon strength of purpose. But Willibald, together with a healthier constitution of body, seems to have possessed a more ready and

[1] Goscelin, de Vit. Sanct. apud Bolland. in Vita S. Ricardi.

active mind, more of eagerness and fire. Winibald, who was weakly, was more of a quiet, contemplative, hermit-like cast. Their sister, St. Walburga, who was probably much younger than either, shows a particular attachment to her sickly brother. The outline of her life exhibits the same great and princely heart, melted by feminine softness into a gentle patience and sweet intensity of devotion.

From such children we could well argue the piety of the father, under whose fostering care such stately plants grew up to adorn Christ's earthly paradise. But a circumstance occurs to show the habitual holy temper and religious faith of King Richard. The child Willibald, when he was about three years old, was seized with a violent disorder: the sickness was so severe, that his body fell under it into the last state of weakness, and his life was given over. At such times the difference between the worldly and the religious is this, the former look to natural means only for help, and when these fail, they have nothing to rely upon; the latter still depend upon the will of God in faith, and therefore have hope. In those simple times (and the custom still remains in simple countries like the Tyrol), a holy cross of sufficient size was planted in a public open spot, which was thus dedicated to acts of religious worship, sometimes by the wayside, sometimes adjoining the house of a rich proprietor, to which it was attached like a chapel, and used as a domestic place of prayer. To this the king and queen brought the child and laid him at its foot, a suffering infant beneath the emblem of suffering innocence. There they poured

forth their earnest prayers and intercessions, vowing, as Hannah of old, that if the dying child was given back to them, his life should be devoted to the service of God. The prayer was heard and the child restored. The staff of Elisha brought no help to the Shunammite's son in times of old, but the cross of the Lord is found of more avail to the faithful in Christ.

St. Richard received his child as a gift restored again from the grave, and held him to be no more his own, but a sacred trust put into his hands from heaven. Doubtless, such an event tended much to increase devotion and thankfulness in a mind and heart already devout. For two years more he kept his son, and then, by the hand of a faithful servant, sent him at the age of five years old to be placed with the holy Abbot Egbald in the monastery of Waltham, not far from Winchester, where still there is a bishop's residence.[1] Thus he severed his son from himself and from the world, a painful act, which afterwards led on to another and greater sacrifice, in which consists the chief action in St. Richard's life. Self-denial ever leads the way to self-denial. It was in this school of discipline at Waltham that the young soldier of the cross learned the hard yet easy lesson, to follow the ensign of the Lamb whithersoever He goes. His bold and ready temper was nursed to high longings in the seclusion of his monastery, and he returned to his home at the age of twenty, to teach his father that high lesson to which that father had first led him on;

[1] Camden, Part 2, Hants.

he came to bid father and brother renounce their royal estate, country, and home, to wander out into the world as poor pilgrims, after the example of Him who had no place where to lay His head. He broke his own resolution first in secret to St. Richard; and then, with all the animation of an ardent heart, the young saint urged his plea. Men of the world, of what is called common sense, would look upon such words as mere romancing. Probably such language would be listened to with utter scorn and derision, if not considered as absolute folly and distraction. Yet the foolishness of man may be heavenly wisdom, and humble men in faithful days did not so listen to it. His father hearkened to the enthusiast with meekness; at first indeed he took the ground on which high resolves are often put away, he urged his ties and duties at home; but after a while he found these considerations to be in his own case but a pretext, and at length he consented. Perhaps he had already formed some such desire, from weariness of the world and the examples of neighbouring kings. Perhaps political circumstances urged him the same way. It is supposed to have been for the peace of his people that he resigned his power. Winibald, who was nineteen years of age, and who had been brought up as it appears at home, showed the same ready compliance, and obeyed the call of his brother.

It was in the year 721 when they came to their determination. First they were to visit Rome, the centre of Christendom, where the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul were laid; afterwards to pass

on to the yet more hallowed scene of the Saviour's life and sufferings, the Holy Land. In the spring of the year they made ready for their departure. It is probable that Queen Winna was dead, and there seems reason to think that St. Walburga, with other children, was a daughter by a second wife. He placed her in the convent at Winburne in Dorset,[1] the usual refuges in those days for the unprotected, and commonly the places of education for ladies of rank. There she found holy companions in the princesses Cuthberga and Queenberga, the sainted sisters of King Ina. Having placed his daughter in the secure arms of a careful mother, the Church, the noble Saxon, with his two sons, bidding farewell to earthly cares, took his way to Southampton, then called Hamle-mouth, to take ship, followed by such retainers as through love and fidelity chose to accompany their king.

It surely is a scene to awaken an indifferent world, and to give a solemn witness to the power of Christianity, to see a little band thus gather, and go forth from their kindred and people, henceforth belonging to no earthly land, but seeking a heavenly. It can only be through an utter ignorance of the motives and deep constraining principles which lie within, that men look on with wondering scorn, or draw out the tongue, and shake the head in derision, as they pass on. Like haughty Egypt, they imagine that they are gone out to be swallowed in the sea, or to perish in the wilderness. But he whose religion is dearer to him than all the world

[1] See Camden, Brit. Dorset.

beside, is free to go where he will; he is the true brave man, and all lands are his home. Places and things are everywhere much alike to him, and, if he could, he would fain escape away. The world is unwilling that the prisoner should flee, and stretching out its arms into the void, would drag back perforce the departing footsteps. It seems to men as if ruin were at hand, and the last of the angel guard were going out from among them.

Having hired a vessel they embarked, followed by the tears and prayers of the friends who accompanied them to the shore. The passage of the sea is always a solemn thing, and then was counted perilous. The style of the simple ancient narrative rises as it comes to the tale of the voyage, and swells into long undulating tremulous words, as though the memory of its sensations had dwelt unforgotten on the mind. There is something, moreover, which touches the heart deeply in leaving an island home, but then our saints were not cruising abroad for pleasure or business as men do now; the calm religious mind which is fixed on eternity can watch even the receding shores of a dear home with a peaceful eye, like the spectator of a changing scene in some unsubstantial vision; it is not because it is insensible, but because it is tranquil.

They landed at a town then called Rotum, on the Seine (probably it is Rouen in Normandy), and having first paid a solemn visit to the churches, there to offer thanks for their prosperous voyage, they took their journey across France without delay, proposing to pass the Alps before the winter began.

The expression of pitching camp at landing shows that the company of pilgrims was considerable in number, among whom, as it would seem, several young men of gentle birth had joined them out of devotion and affection to the young princes. It appears they had to pass through some unconverted heathen country, probably on the Italian side of the Alps, for as they traversed France they diligently sought every church to pray for protection against the barbarians. Thus they enlisted as they went on the armies of heaven on their side, on the aid of which, and not on human prudence and precaution, they relied to keep them safe from their enemies. This quiet confidence throws a charm round the weak and defenceless, the furious passions of men are cowed, and though they gather like lions round a Daniel, they are held back from hurting them. Their progress was unmolested. On their way they heard that their kinsman St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, had begun his mission. People now would argue that they ought to have left their wandering, and have gone to be useful in that heathen country. But while reason calculates utilities, and the world approves its judgment, simple affection takes unconsciously a wiser and nobler course. They preferred to seem idle rather than be busy about serving, so keeping their resolve, they passed on, seeking Him first, and the dear memorials and relics of His presence, for whose sake they had left all.

They arrived at Lucca, and the bishop received them with hospitality. In the days when Christendom was united, and before love had grown

cold, the Church everywhere received the wanderer with welcome. Poverty was a letter of commendation, and the name of Christian a passport through the length and breadth of Christendom. Charity opens the heart of man, and his eye is no longer jealous and suspicious, nor his hand against his fellow. The Church of Lucca had no reason to repent of her hospitality. She had unawares entertained a saintly guest, and he left with her in recompense his blessing, and bequeathed his remains. It was now the sickly autumn, and St. Richard fell ill. He was to be spared his pilgrimage. Here it was to be cut short. He breathed his last happily in the arms of his children. They took his body, and wrapping it in a fair cloth, laid it to rest in the church of St. Frigidian, a holy man from Ireland, formerly Bishop of Lucca.

Sorrowful and yet rejoicing, his sons journeyed on to Rome. St. Richard died in the autumn of the year 722. Several circumstantial accounts are related of cures at his tomb, and relief from satanic possession. To those who think little on the awful realities of the spiritual world such narratives are difficulties. As they do not believe in the presence or power of the evil one in the soul of man, so consequently they cannot receive the history of its liberation from him. But to a thoughtful mind the moral miracles of Christianity are greater and more marvellous than any external physical changes can be considered, or any bodily cures. In contemplating the lives of holy men under its influence, changes so wonderful are seen to take place in conduct and character from what it was before

that no material change, no affection of colour, shape, or external form or habit, can adequately represent them. It seems as if the stroke of an enchanter's wand had changed the whole moral scenery; out of such meanness and hideousness arises such strength and such beauty. The lives of Christian saints are a standing miracle. Their gentleness, their meekness, and supernatural endurance, are as contrary to the natural course of human wilfulness and wickedness as the greatest deviations possible from the usual course of visible creation, and even much more so, for of all changes that can be in the nature of things, the greatest that can be conceived is that of evil into good.

To those who have seen the sweetness of such behaviour in the living, and have been moved by its fragrance, it need be no wonder that even the frail vessel that once contained the spirit should savour of its life, or that Satan should flee from the smell of the remembrance of its holiness more quickly than he fled of old from the perfume of the fish's heart in the marriage-chamber of pure-hearted Tobias. How dearly men in those days prized such possessions will be seen by what follows. Many years afterwards the people of Aichstadt in Germany, which was Willibald's see, wished to add to the remains of the sons the body of the father. They sent to Lucca, offering any sum that it was in their power to raise, and adding entreaties, to be allowed to remove the relics of St. Richard. Neither prayers nor promises could prevail with the people of Lucca to part with what they considered greater

than the greatest earthly treasure. At last, for charity's sake, the petitioners begged to be at least permitted to take away some portion of the dust from the tomb, and when they but received some particles, they conveyed it home with joy as an invaluable gift. Such earnestness betokens a reality of reverence, and a sense of value at least, which ought to strike us now, who measure all things by gold. Perhaps it may be objected that such a regard is over-fond, and ought to be condemned, but the objection comes with an ill grace from men who fall into ecstasy over a bronze from Herculaneum, or a coin of Caligula, and will give a large sum for even a hair or a tooth of some oppressor of the Church, or the autograph of some condemned felon. If we must needs admire, it is better to prefer the beautiful to the strange or the hideous, for what we most admire that we imitate.

Some account must be added of cures wrought at St. Richard's tomb, in proof of his sanctity and acceptance with God, and of the singular value of his bones to the people of Lucca.

Some centuries[1] after his death, on the removal of the remains of St. Frigidian, and other holy persons who lay in that church, the body of the stranger king was left through carelessness, or through lapse of time forgotten. A noble count of Lucca, named Cedeus, who had lain a paralytic many years, deprived of all use of his limbs, saw a vision of the saint in the night, who bid him

[1] A.D. 1151.

arise and go to the prior and brotherhood of St. Frigidian, and ask them why they had severed him from the companions with whom his bones had lain in sacred fellowship so many years. The sick nobleman replied, that his infirmity of many years made him incapable of obeying, and asked who he was that bade him go. The saint answered, that he was Richard the Saxon king, and told him, "Go without fear, for that Christ our sweet Saviour had condescended to his prayer, and that from that very hour he was healed." The count awoke in the morning cured; and, besides this testimony to the reality of the vision, was enabled to declare the spot where the relics lay, which through antiquity had become unknown.

The fame of other miracles at his shrine reaching Germany, a poor paralytic caused himself to be brought as best he could from thence to Lucca, and in reward for his great faith was restored to the use of his limbs. An attendant on the daily service at the altar, beneath which were the remains of St. Richard, lay in a hopeless state of suffering from a pulmonary disease. As he slept, a form with a majestic beard and bright angelic countenance appeared to him, wearing a royal crown, and holding a sceptre, and bade him go for relief to the altar at which he had so continually served in holy offices. He obeyed the vision and was cured.

A waiting maid in the house of a noble citizen of Lucca was possessed with devils, so that even the strongest man could not hold her, and she was a terror to all. At length the devils declared

by her, unwillingly, that they were subjected to the power of St. Richard, and would come out of her if taken to the church of St. Frigidian. With great difficulty she was taken there; and upon approach to the holy place she began to utter terrible cries, like the mingled sounds of many fierce wild animals, so hideous and horrible that people were terrified far and near. After awhile she ceased her screams and was set free.

Sensual men, who have drunk of Circe's cup, and are themselves transformed out of humanity, or cold men of intellect who know nothing of moral degradation, do not believe in the fearful embodiments of evil, of which the world gives actual instances. They cannot apprehend the high and holy words of Scripture, which speaks of such men as of dogs and swine. They cannot believe that a legion of evil things, whose fit habitation was a herd of swine, can take their abiding-place in the human heart, and fill it with all uncleanness. Yet Scripture says, that so it is; and if only men would know themselves, they might see within themselves all that is horrible and wild in the animal creation. Men may live, and do live, each one of these hateful lives; and as wickedness progresses they come out in their horrible shapes of character. The great evil world is full of such roaming in it to and fro, and he who knows his own heart knows that he might himself be such a one. But over these spiritual wickednesses in their different depths and heights, St. Paul tells us the Christian has won the victory. The saints' feet trample upon the neck of the monster sin; and

according as they have fought in the good fight, they are placed as heavenly guards over the fiendish enemies they have subdued. It is the world's wickedness which prevents this victory of faith from being realised. Principles of evil, when known as such, bring out the opposite principles of good, and the great moral combat assumes a distinct and visible shape. But when principles of evil are unknown, and this is always in proportion to the degree that men themselves are involved in them, the view of the great battle becomes obscured. Hence when the mist of their own vices and false principles covers mankind, the Evil Spirit with all his legions lies hid, and at the same time, Angels, Prophets, and Apostles, and all the noble army of Martyrs become invisible too; friend and foe are alike unseen, and men care not to seek the aid of the one and dread no longer the devices of the other. It is only when the soul is lost—the city is taken—ruin is at hand, and the towers are falling, that the horrible countenances become distinctly visible; then, when too late,

> "Apparent diræ facies, inimicaque Trojæ
> Numina."

LIFE OF

ST. WILLIBALD

BISHOP OF AICHSTADT—701–786

SAINT WILLIBALD was born, as near as can be ascertained, in the year 701, of noble parents: Richard, Prince of Kent or Hampshire, and Saint, and, according to tradition, Winna, sister of the great bishop Winfrid or Boniface. He had a brother and sister, Winibald and Walburga; Winibald either a little older or younger, but probably one year younger, of the same father and mother, and Walburga, considerably younger, being, it is thought, of another mother.

He was a sickly child, though he grew up a vigorous man. When an infant of three years old he was at the point of death, but was miraculously restored to health by the virtue of the cross, as is told more at length in the life of Richard his father. Out of gratitude to God his parents from that time devoted him to a religious life, although, as it seems, he was their heir. Accordingly, as soon as he was five years old, he was sent away from home to a monastery. The ceremonious attention to the child implied in the narrative, shows the

noble condition and state of his father, even if it were not otherwise proved. A gentleman of the household, or perhaps a priest, for he is called the "venerable and faithful Theodred," conveyed the little prince in a litter or carriage to the abbey of Waltham, near Winchester, a convent of Benedictine monks, probably at some distance from his father's residence. The Abbot Egbald, a man of famed sanctity, came out to receive him at the head of his monks; and according to the courteous custom and rule, having asked the leave of the brotherhood, admitted the child among them to the order of St. Benedict. Not long before this time many houses in England were strictly reformed according to the rules of that order. There are those who seem disposed to think that Christianity is not meant for children; but Scripture says otherwise, and men of wisdom did not think so anciently, but took that to be the fittest time for its reception, when the heart is simple and guileless, and not yet corrupted by the world. The convents often taught multitudes of saintly children, and hence came the modern mistake that many of them were at first mere places of scholastic education.

The child Willibald very early showed signs of wisdom and understanding, especially in the knowledge and repetition of the Psalms, so that it might truly be said of him, that with "an infant's mouth he sang the fulness of praise." His disposition was naturally eager and bold, and thus nourished among the high thoughts and heavenly themes of the great harper of the Church, he grew up full

of ardent aspirations, and longings to do or endure some great thing, for the love he felt glowing within him. Left to himself, he would probably have been a headstrong impetuous man; but tempered by religion, his disposition led him to a frank and ready surrender of himself, with a holy prompt activity. In his willingness to learn, strong devotion, and firm patience, he showed the same readiness, and even in the manual labours enjoined by his rule, so that what he did he did heartily. This happy temper drew to him the love of the abbot and his companions. At the same time he found himself regarded, not only as a simple monk, but as a king's son; and as he grew towards manhood, he found this dangerous respect increasing. Perceiving this to be a snare, he was set upon finding a remedy. His own stirring mind, and the romance of the undertaking itself, and the common practice of the age suggested a pilgrimage. This would remove him at once from his temptations, by separating him from the land in which he was known and honoured, and the greatness to which he was heir. The idea at length settled to a purpose, and when near the age of twenty he broke it to the abbot. Egbald was at first unwilling, but gave at length his consent; and Willibald left the convent to persuade his father and brother not only to agree to it, but to accompany him to Palestine.

To our every-day notions the very idea of a pilgrimage is so strange, and the proposal so wild, that something must be said by way of comment and explanation. Reasons must be given to show why it would not appear then what it appears now,

puerile, or unscriptural, or dangerous, or useless. It is strange and new, and we do not see what it has to do with religion to go to the Holy Land. In those days it was the very reverse of this; it was not new, but very usual, as much as it is with us to talk of going to church. Christians had made pilgrimages time out of mind; their fathers had done so, martyrs and saints had done so. No one thought it more strange to go to holy places at a distance, than we should to a church a long way off, or in the rain. Moreover, there is reason for saying that such had been the custom from very early times. Theodorus Studites, a grave writer of the ninth century, says, that the Holy Land was so regarded that even a pebble of it was honoured.[1] Near a century before the time of which the present history speaks, "multitudes out of all nations," says Adamnanus, "met at Jerusalem."[2] St. Augustine speaks of Tribunitius having a little earth of the Holy Land by his bedside as a treasure, brought by a friend.[3] Earlier still St. Jerome, who himself was a dweller in the Holy Land,[4] speaks of being interrupted in his writing by the crowds of "hospites," or pilgrims, he had to entertain. Itineraries[5] were composed as early as 333, from the routes of former travellers, and for the benefit of future ones. With the visit and searches of St. Helena, mother of Constantine,

[1] Theodor. in dogm. de imag. apud Gretser. lib. i. ch. 3.
[2] Adamn. de Locis Sanctis.
[3] S. Aug. lib. xxii. De. Civ. Dei. ch. 8.
[4] S. Hieron. Præf. i. 7 in Ezek.
[5] Itinerarium Burdigalense.

most are familiar.[1] Two visits of bishops of Cappadocia are recorded,[2] Firmilian and Alexander, the last to fulfil a vow. Origen says, that sacred spots were shown;[3] and to complete the whole, the very fact that heathen images were placed to desecrate the places of our Lord's memorials, and that Hadrian walled in Calvary, shows that before that time they were consecrated and resorted to by Christians.

There is then more than enough to show that such a thing was then no novelty. And this itself goes far to prove the next point, that it was a natural growth of religion, not a thing inserted or forced into it, because from the first centuries it had been a habit with Christian people. An habitual product of any plant or tree is called its fruit, and this may be called a fruit of Christianity, not that it must necessarily ensue from it as an obligation, but may be a natural growth of the feelings it inspires.

The idea of "leaving the world," if taken in a literal sense, may easily develop into such an habitual view. Abraham left home and kindred to sojourn, or to be a pilgrim; the patriarchs were pilgrims. Our Lord left His heavenly home, and afterwards His home on earth, to be a pilgrim in the Holy Land. The Anglo-Saxons, a simple race and very devout, accepted the literal command. No country ever sent forth greater crowds of wanderers or more illustrious.[4] Some came

[1] Euseb. *τὴν ἀξιάγαστον ἀνιστορήσουσα γῆν.*
[2] See Gretserus de S. Pereg. lib. i. ch. 4.
[3] Orig. lib. i. cont. Celsum, *δείκνυται τὸ σπήλαιον.*
[4] Gretserus de Sacr. Per. lib. ii. ch. 12.

down from a throne, or left newly-made conquests in Britain. Some went out to teach the ignorant, or to convert the heathen, and some to find a home in the desert and cave of the anchorite.

There may have been particular reasons for persuading St. Richard to listen to his son. His hereditary kingdom had been much disturbed by incursions, and his father slain in battle, and thus it would be for the peace of his people that he should leave them. Accordingly, the arguments of Willibald prevailed, and not only with him, but his brother Winibald, and a number of other noble young Saxons, probably their intimates, seven of whom afterwards accompanied Willibald to Palestine. His power of attaching and influencing others appears to have been great, as is usually the case with decided characters.

The history of their departure and travel to Lucca, where the father died, is told in the life of St. Richard. When the two brothers had laid the remains of their father in repose, they passed on in their toilsome way. It was the autumn of the year 721. If we could gain some insight into the numbers, resources, or costume of the company it would be very interesting, but there is little in the narrative to give information. They are spoken of as a little camp, which implies a considerable number. The number of about[1] thirty was not unusual, or more together ; in after times nobles of France went with what might be called armies, but there seems no reason to think that the company de-

[1] Fosbroke on Pilgrim. ch. 6.

scribed was very large in number, or provided with means otherwise than in the simplest way, or in any way armed against attack. The whole summer had been consumed in traversing the plains of France, in crossing the Alps and Apennines, and descending to Lucca in Italy; so that it is probable from their slow progress that they went solely on foot. Hitherto they had been unmolested, but now there was danger to be apprehended in their route. The Lombards were at that period disturbing Italy, and they heard that there were soldiers in the passes; but they escaped them, and went safely through Tuscany.[1]

"Dear is the stranger to heaven," are the words of Homer; even heathens of old honoured the wanderer, and in Christian times their persons were rendered secure by the veneration in which they were held.[2] We read even of robbers returning money to those they had spoiled, when they knew they were pilgrims. Enactments were made to free them from tolls and duties upon their baggage,[3] which was usually carried in rush baskets or "scripea," from whence the "pilgrim's scrip." Many assistances were provided for them by charity, especially hospitals built for their reception at Rome, and Jerusalem, and elsewhere; so that even very poor people, and without resources, might venture to undertake a pilgrimage. But the severity of the vows they often took upon them rendered many such assistances needless;[4] since

[1] Baronius, Eccl. Ann. Gibbon, ch. 49.
[2] Fosbroke on Pilgrim. ch. 6. [3] Ibid. ch. 5.
[4] Gretserus, lib. i. ch. 4, ex Theodoreto.

some bound themselves never to sleep in a bed, some to lodge upon the bare ground, some to fast as they went, as Marana and Cyra, who for twenty days' journey fasted going, and twenty days coming back, some to keep silence all the way.[1]

At length, in November, about St. Martin's day, they entered Rome; a resting-place, after tossing by sea, and climbing mountains, and traversing the long plains of France and Italy in pain and fear. At that time Rome, and the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul, drew multitudes of pilgrims from England, and all other parts.[2] There are lists of kings and nobles who came, besides the common people. It was usual for them to hasten as soon as they arrived at the Church of St. Peter, and pay their devotions there. This act, says Baronius, was the same as "signifying their communion with the Church Catholic."[3] The ancient building, part of which still remains, as a crypt under Michael Angelo's wonderful pile, was one of the seven basilicas of Constantine, and even then was such a temple as became the honour of the prince of Apostles. If we consider well the majesty of St. Peter's chair, before which, for hundreds of years, saints and kings, bishops, martyrs, confessors, in long and solemn train, and all the hearts of Christendom bowed, we may conceive in a degree the loyal gladness with which faithful men used to come to tender their submission to authority, and pay reverence to the Keeper of the Keys.

The wanderers were received into a hospice, or

[1] Ibid. e Surio. [2] See Gretser, lib. ii. ch. 13, 14.
[3] Ibid. ch. 10. Gretserus e Baronio.

monastery provided for pilgrims, and through the ensuing winter and spring Willibald and Winibald spent their time in holy exercises and severe discipline, until, as the old narrative expresses it, the "joyous time of Easter spread a glad sunshine through all the world." Then people knew how to rejoice, because they knew how to sorrow. Easter past, and summer came on, the dangerous time for strangers newly come from a northern clime. Both were seized with the malaria fever. Fits of shivering, and burning fever, succeeded one another with such violence that life was endangered. The sickness fell upon them alternately, one took to his bed as the other rose, and they waited upon one another week by week in turn. Here was an example of the simplicity and affection of the saintly brothers; and austerity also, for they continued their monastic rule, and holy exercise, even through their sickness, with their usual unsubdued energy and determination of character.

Whether it was this severe illness that broke Winibald's constitution, already delicate, and so made him incapable of the toil of a pilgrimage to the distant shores of Palestine, is not said; perhaps, captivated with the calm and seclusion of monastic life, he gave himself up to the quiet and retirement which suited his serious cast of mind and sickly body. The high-tempered Willibald was eager for fresh toil. Accordingly, when the following winter was past, he called together his countrymen and fellow-pilgrims, and said that "with their leave and consent, and the aid of their prayers, he purposed now to journey on to the Holy Land, and, if so

great mercy were granted him, to see the city Jerusalem." Seven out of his companions were willing to accompany him; two are mentioned as near friends, one of whom is called by name Diapert.

They waited until the solemnities of Easter were over, and then set forth. It is pleasing to observe how, through all their travel, sacred seasons measure the pauses, as if to a Christian time were no more, but the eternal round of joy and sweet sorrow,[1] like the circling of the stars round the pole, had already begun, and days and years were only known, and space observed, by the memorials of Christ's pain and triumph, with the saints who have suffered for His sake. Localities seem to serve the same purpose, as if the whole world were become a book telling of the same story, each spot with its associations bearing witness to Christianity, and repeating the triumph of the Cross from land to land. This will serve in a measure to explain the thoughts and feelings with which men in ancient days entered upon a travel to visit holy scenes. They went with a single heart, and single eye. Totally different minds see, so to speak, different worlds, because they make totally different observations. The whole mass of facts that the one gathers, passes from the other unnoticed, and so it is no wonder that the inductions they make, and the conclusions they come to, differ so widely. According as men are themselves, so they take their views. And thus it is in the travels of a saint, the

[1] ἐπὶ πῆμα καὶ χαρὰ πᾶσι κυκλοῦσιν,
οἷον Ἄρκτου στροφάδες κέλευθοι.—Soph. Trach.

world seems changed, as in a magical illusion, and all things take a religious hue, because he looks out upon them from his own mind. This gives value to the following details of the narrative of his pilgrimage, uninteresting perhaps to the curious or scientific reader, which was written down from the saint's own mouth by the authoress, who was either St. Walburga, his sister, or one of her religious sisterhood in the convent of Heidelheim.

The eight companions set out from Rome after Easter 723, taking the route to Terracina; there they stayed two days, and from thence, passing along the shore to Gaeta, they took a boat across the bay to Naples. "Divine mercy," says the narrative, "ever deals so kindly with those that wait upon it, that it fulfils their very wishes; for at Naples they found a ship of Egypt, which in two weeks set sail, taking them on board, and touching for two days at Reggio in Calabria, carried them from thence to Catania in the Isle of Sicily—there rests in peace the body of the holy virgin Agatha." After a delay of three weeks at Catania, while the ship was probably engaged in trading, they made across the Adriatic to some place on the eastern coast, called in the tale, "Manasasia of the Sclavonian land," and afterwards leaving Corinth on the left and touching at Coös and then at Samos, they disembarked at Ephesus.

It would be curious, if it could be ascertained whether this was the usual route to Palestine or not; or to sail direct to Acre, or to Grand Cairo in Egypt. The latter was a common way of access,[1]

[1] Itinerar. Sym. Simeonis.

as was probably owing to the number of ships of Alexandria trading to different parts of the Mediterranean; and Acre was a great seaport. Again, there was probably a line from Constantinople along the coast of Asia Minor, which would take Ephesus in its way. Perhaps this was the earliest and then most frequented line, especially for people of the Greek Church, though the least direct for St. Willibald and his companions. Into this it seems they fell, guided, as they must have been, by the destination of the trading vessel which took them on board. It was usual to embark, as they did, from Sicily, or sometimes at Marseilles.[1]

Shipmasters sometimes took pilgrims on board for charity, who, as anchor was weighed, sang hymns and prayed for a safe voyage; but more often as freight for profit. Regulations were made to secure them a fair treatment, and the shipmasters were made to take oaths to fulfil their engagements to them.[2] It was usual to bring money to pay for the voyage, raised from the sale of their worldly effects; but sometimes this was spent in port before a vessel arrived to take them. It seems that the noble Saxon wanderers had money with them to pay the passage.

After their landing at Ephesus, remembrances come crowding thickly. They are in the scene of the early romance of Christianity, when it first broke forth into the beautiful regions of Asia in miraculous power, and scattered freely upon earth the gifts and wonders of heaven; but as they draw

[1] Fosbroke, ch. 5. [2] Ibid.

near the chief scene of Gospel story, the feeling of simple wonder deepens into solemn and awful melancholy, while they follow the footsteps of the Saviour through the Holy Land to the awful consummation at Jerusalem; and joy is absorbed into majestic sorrow.

Their first steps on resuming now their pilgrimage by land, were engaged in visiting the wonders of Ephesus. There they were shown the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, in which it was then confidently believed that seven bodies of saints had lain, and having slept a vast number of years, rose again, and entered the city to confute a deadly heresy into which the Church of Ephesus had fallen. The tale was admitted not only by Christians, but even the followers of Mahomet.[1] Now it would be hard to find faith on earth though one rose from the dead. From the cave they came to the Church of St. John, passing, as it were, with natural transition of thought from the warning voice of the dead to him who forewarned the Ephesian Church, the aged and solitary seer of the Apocalypse. As they departed from Ephesus, they came to a large village on the seaside, called in the narrative "Figila," where, says the story, "they sat down by a fountain in the middle of it, and having asked for some bread (if they had money, it probably would not be current there), dipped it in the water and made a meal."

The mention of this little incident suggests much thought. In these days of self-indulgence, or at least of sickliness, it is hardly known how little the

[1] For the evidence, see Gibbon.

human frame in its true health requires for support. What these austere wanderers would count enough would seem to us incredible privation. This will account for the easiness with which they seem to find subsistence; such little as they wanted could be easily obtained wherever they found Christian people, and in simple times and countries the mere necessaries of life are counted in a manner free and common to all, and the wayfarer meets with a ready hospitality. A suspicious overwrought civilisation denies the piece of bread and cup of water to the beggar.

However, abstinent as they were, they could not escape casualties; thus, passing along the coast, after crossing the Lycian mountains and wintering at Patara, in the spring they sailed over to some point on the Cilician or Pamphylian coast, where the country, it seems, had been desolated. One account speaks of a flood which had visited it, another of the desolations of war, and the poor pilgrims were reduced to the last extremity, so that they were like to have died; but, as is piously said, "God gave them food:" how, we are not told, but a religious mind sees in what are called common occurrences (as the ship ready for them at Naples) miraculous provisions of a protecting Providence. From thence they sailed to Paphos in the isle of Cyprus, and there spent the festival of Easter, completing the first year of their travel.

Leaving Paphos after Easter, they came to Constantia, famous for the tomb and remains of the holy Bishop Epiphanius, whose festival is the twelfth of May, about the time they came, and

there they stayed until St. John Baptist's day. Hitherto they have been in the Greek dominions and amongst Christians; but now they sailed from Cyprus, and landing at Aradus on the Phenician coast, they entered the land of the Saracens.

It was now near a century since the followers of Mahomet had taken possession of Jerusalem.[1] As yet they had not any bitter animosity against Christians; "and just at this time," says the narrative, "there was great peace between the Greeks and Saracens. The Christians dwelling in the Holy Land were suffered to live for the most part peaceably in the exercise of their religion. Agreements were even made at times between the Sultan of Egypt and the Emperor of Constantinople, to allow and protect pilgrims from insult and harm, and special orders to that effect were issued to the emirs; monasteries and churches were secured from violence, and even repaired."[2]

Yet still, in those days of keen perception, it cost a Christian a shudder to pass into the land of what they would have called "Mahometan swine."[3] People now have no objection to the company of unbaptized heathens. Besides, the Saracens favoured and allowed the Jews, and even trusted them with the office of exacting the fines and imposts laid upon Christian travellers.[4] The Jewish population of the country, especially in Samaria, bore such a hatred to pilgrims, and held them in such abomina-

[1] Milman, Hist. Jews, b. xxii.

[2] See, as quoted by Gretser. lib. i. c. viii., Hist. Joan. Cantacuzen. iv. 14.

[3] Itin. Sym. Simeonis.

[4] Milman, vol. iii. p. 270.

tion, that we read even of their burning straw upon their footsteps after them, to purify the ground. Sometimes the Saracens imprisoned them to exact these fines.[1]

Proceeding inland from the city Aradus, they came to a "castellum," or fortified town of the same name, "in which," the narrative says, "they found a bishop of the Greek nation, with whom they had the Litany (or office), according to the custom of the Greek Church;" it here includes the service of the altar as well as prayers. The fact is one of much interest, as showing the unity of heart then in Christendom, and that a difference in service does not necessarily imply, though it may form an occasion of heresy. It was not long after this that intercommunion between the Western and Eastern Churches ceased, the Greeks becoming Iconoclasts. Twelve miles from thence they came to the city Edessa, so famous for its King Abgarus, and early reception of the faith by the preaching of St. Thomas. There they found a spacious church built by the Empress Helena, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist, whose relics it contained.

Edessa was the residence of an emir, it may be of the khalif himself; he is called, in the rude Latin of the story, "Mirmumnus," a corruption from "Emir-al-Mumanīn," or "Commander of the Faithful." Hesham, son of Abd-al-Malek, was khalif at that time, of the race of the Ommiyades; he succeeded his brother Yerid January 26, 724, and died 743. Judæa and Syria were governed by emirs;

[1] Itin. Antonin. Placent. in Acta Sanc. t. ii. Maii. Bernhardi Monachi Itiner. in Mabillon.

the khalif usually residing at Damascus, or Grand Cairo. The government was apparently equitable and mild.

The foreign dress and striking appearance of the eight Saxons now excited attention. It is not likely that at that early period any particular costume was adopted by all pilgrims, but they probably came in their national habits. This, however, in the Saxon, would be very similar to what became the usual pilgrim's garb in succeeding times. "The Anglo-Saxons," says Fosbroke, "had scrips (or rush baskets), and they were worn slung at the side."[1] The simple frock or tunic, let loose, or girt in the middle, was the chief article of dress; sometimes of leather, as Gurth the swineherd in Ivanhoe. The scallop shell, taken to serve all purposes, of cup, dish, and spoon, and attached to the flap of the wide-brimmed shadowing hat, was a convenience so natural and obvious, that it was probably already adopted.

Found to be strangers from a far distant land, they excited curiosity, and either real or pretended suspicion of some unknown design; they were seized and put in prison, and being brought before an officer of justice, a rich old emir, they were charged, with the simplicity of the day, "with being *spies*." St. Willibald explained, as well as imperfect knowledge of the language allowed, from what country they came, and the religious nature of their visit. The old emir answered kindly and would have let them go, but it seems that a permission,

[1] Fosbroke, Costumes of Pilgrims.

perhaps a "Tezkirah" or passport from the khalif, was required; thus they lay in prison until their cause should be heard, and this be obtained. Here a modern tale would be full of lamentation at such a hardship and mishap, but men in ancient days were full of a gentle composure, which accompanied them to prison and to death. From captive saints earthly chains fall off as with an angel-touch, and the world that injured them comes bowing down at last, to petition to wash their wounds and ease the pressure of their bonds.

They were content to be in prison, since it so befel them, and were thankful to God for the many indulgences and kind treatment they met with. A merchant of the city, a Christian probably, "was moved with compassion for them; out of charity to them, and for the welfare of his soul, he offered a sum of money to redeem them, but it was refused. He then sent them daily, morning and evening, food; every fourth day, and last day of the week, he sent his own son to lead them out to a bath" (almost a necessary in that climate), "and attend them back to prison. On the Lord's day, he obtained leave for them to come to a Christian church; and made little purchases of such things as pleased them, as they passed through the mart. The people of the city stared at them with much curiosity, because they were young men of such fair appearance, and singular dress."

After some time had elapsed a Spaniard chanced to come among the number of those who from curiosity or compassion visited them in prison, and having inquired their story, was interested with it.

He was probably, also, a Christian merchant; but he had influence through his brother, who was an officer in waiting in the court of the khalif, and so obtained leave for them of an audience. The old emir attended, and the sailor who had conveyed them from Cyprus gave evidence to the story; and the khalif having heard their narrative, and that they came from the distant west land, where the sun sinks into the sea, beyond which are only waters, exclaimed, "Wherefore should we treat the men roughly? they have done no wrong against us. Give them freedom, and let them go." They were accordingly set free; the usual prison fine was forgiven them, and they received a full permission, probably a Tezkirah, or written passport, to travel in the country where they pleased.

This important point being gained, they passed on from Edessa to Damascus, a journey of nearly a hundred miles; the country they traversed contained so many Christians, that it was divided into twelve episcopal sees of the Greek Church. At Damascus they stayed a week; "there sleeps the body of the holy Ananias." Two miles out of the city, on the road towards Jerusalem, the spot was pointed out of the manifestation of our Lord to St. Paul. Here a church was built, into which they entered and prayed; and entering thus by the Church of the Conversion, a fit admission to the Holy Land, and praying as they went, they took their way into Galilee.

Continuing devout in prayer they followed the road to Nazareth, under the borders of Lebanon, and among the hills and valleys of the land of

Nephthalim; making a joyous approach, in a meet frame of mind, to the home of the Saviour's childhood. The country about Nazareth is rich and fertile to this day. The city is built on a hill, overlooking the great vale of Esdraelon; arms of this extensive plain, through which the river Kishon flows, run amongst the neighbouring hills of Little Hermon and Tabor, and the ranges of Nazareth, watered by little streams and fountains. "The soil of this plain," says a late traveller, speaking of the valley which runs up towards Nazareth, "and also of the gradual northern slope, is exceedingly fertile, and the fields in many parts were still covered with a rich crop of wheat, ready and waiting for the sickle."[1] The vale runs under the Mount of Precipitation (from which the men of the city intended to throw our Lord down), and swells out into a basin under the ridges of Nazareth. In the time of St. Willibald, tradition showed the spot where the Annunciation was made to Mary, as she returned from drawing water at the Fountain of the Virgin.[2] The church, dedicated to the Archangel Gabriel, was built over the very source. "That church," says the narrative, "has often been redeemed for a sum of money from the violence of the neighbouring populace, who have desired to destroy it; as though heathen hate were ever hemming in, and pressing hard, in fiendish malice upon Christian love. It is interesting, if not more than that, to learn that, after a lapse

[1] For the fertility of the Holy Land, see Dr. Robinson, Bibl. Researches, vol. iii. sect. xiv. p. 168.

[2] Phocas. ap. Bolland. Maii, tom. ii. sec. x.

of eleven hundred years, the fountain still flows with a feeble stream, and a church stands over its source."[1]

Here, having commended themselves to the Saviour's care, they walked on to Cana of Galilee, where our Lord, at the marriage-feast, made the water wine. Cana stands upon a ridge, connected with the range of Nazareth, with a broad, beautiful, and fertile plain, extending to the south. A large church was then there, in which stood six water jars composing the altar. These contained wine, and it was customary for pilgrims to communicate from this wine, thus commemorating the first beginning of the miracles of our Lord, and perpetuating it in a mystery as profound, the Church's everlasting miracle. Thus they pursued the theme of joy, begun with the glorious angelic salutation of Mary, drinking with gladness the new wine of the heavenly kingdom, and from thence, having stayed a day, they descended into the plain of Tabor, wandering on, as in a dream, to the Mount of the Transfiguration. Here they ascended, and found three monastic houses, one dedicated to the Apostles, Peter and James and John, one to Moses, and the other to Elias.[2] The mount itself is called "Agemons," or Holy Mount, and is a beautiful conical, or rather a semicircular hill, commanding from the platform on the top a fair view of the adjacent country.[3] It is still thus described: "It rose for the first time upon our view, a fine round

[1] Dr. Robinson, Bibl. Researches, vol. iii. sect. xiv. p. 188.
[2] See Adrichomii Terra Sancta, page 143.
[3] Phocas. Bolland. Maii, tom. ii. sec. xi.

mountain, presenting (from the S.W. side) the appearance of the segment of a sphere, sprinkled with old oaks to its very summit, and realising in its graceful form and beauty all that I had been led to anticipate respecting it;"[1] seen from the N.W. the form inclines more to a truncated cone. "The view," says the same traveller, "from Tabor, is very extensive and beautiful."[2] To the west the heights of Carmel are visible, and a glimpse of the Mediterranean; to the north, beyond the plain which sweeps round the foot of Tabor from the vale of Esdraelon, rise the mountains of Safed, overtopped by the snow-capped heads of Lebanon; below, towards the east and southwards, the whole outline of the basin of the Lake of Tiberias can be traced, though only a small spot of the lake itself is visible, and the valley of the Jordan is seen, winding away towards the distant vale, in which slumber the waters of the Dead Sea.

Here then, most solemn thought, the Lord looked forth upon the beautiful land, which He of old Himself had in wisdom framed. Here He was wrapt in ecstasy.

Doubtless, deep and devout were the meditations of the saint, as he stood with his companions on this favoured hill; nor would the charm be broken, as continuing in prayer they descended from it, and went down to the shore of that sea on which the Lord walked, and bid Peter come to Him on the waters. A sublime and wonderful thought, exceeding all that the wildest romance ever dreamed of in

[1] Dr. Robinson, vol. iii. sect. xiv. p. 180.
[2] Ibid. p. 215.

fairyland! Man, through *faith*, became what he fain would be by *power*, the master of the elements, and only through want of faith being capable of being harmed by them. Man now, like a great magician, by a mighty struggle gains the mastery. Every step costs a sacrifice,[1] every advance some heart-string is snapped asunder; but what will not man give for the pride of power? Meanwhile, field after field of matter is subdued by intellect, which onward goes like a vast engine on the move, crushing and controlling all things at its will. The elemental essences of the material world, one by one, obey the master's command: they labour for him to save him pain and toil; they succour him in sickness, and bid him defy disease; they transport him to and fro at pleasure upon the earth, and through the air; they teach him dark and mysterious things, even the secrets of minds and hearts, and how to influence them; until the miserable creature of clay, by these his arts, apes God upon the earth, and impiously imitates the Almighty greatness: yet simple faith can do more marvellous things than art and science in their fullest strength and pride. Faith has her own wings to fly with over the waters, and to traverse space; faith does not fear torment, and can keep unharmed from the power of elements; faith can teach greater mysteries, for it works through Him from whom the elements themselves come forth, and from whom all knowledge springs.

They entered Tiberias; in the early times of

[1] Curse of Kehama, Southey.

Christianity a city of great note, adorned with a multitude of churches, and having a bishop's chair. In the days of Herod it was the capital of Galilee, and was his favourite residence.[1] After the destruction of Jerusalem it became the chief refuge of the Jews, and Josephus speaks of a vast "proseucha" there, or place of prayer.[2] Even now, great ruins lie around it; vestiges of foundations and columns of granite are scattered along the shore.[3] In the time of St. Willibald the same features are described; they found, says the narrative, "many churches and a great synagogue;" and though much of the population was Jewish, "the festival of the Lord's day was kept in the city with much honour and observance." There they stayed several days, and afterwards proceeded along the shore of the Sea of Galilee to Magdala. The waters of the lake of Tiberias are very limpid and clear; they lie sleeping in a deep hollow basin, "from which," says the traveller already quoted, "the shores rise steeply for the most part, and continuously all around, except where a ravine, or sometimes a 'wady' or valley, interrupts them at intervals."[4] The surrounding hills are rounded, and little marked in their outline; and rhododendrons are said to bloom upon them. Magdala was then called the birthplace of Lazarus and his sisters;[5] a curious confirmation by tradition, then, of the arguments which have been held to prove that St. Mary Mag-

[1] Milman, Hist. Jews, vol. iii. p. 238. (Fam. Libr.)
[2] Joseph. Vita, B. J. ii. 20, 6.
[3] Dr. Robinson, vol. iii. sect. xv. p. 256. [4] Ibid.
[5] V. S. Willibaldi, ex auctore perantiquo, apud Bolland.

dalen and Mary, the sister of Lazarus and Martha, are the same person.[1] From Magdala they came through Bethsaida to Capernaum. Their pilgrimage lay along the sea-strand, where, as was pointed out by tradition, the Lord, after He was risen, appeared to His disciples as they were fishing, the closing scene of the Gospel of St. John; one of those touching and awfully sublime visits which, like the wandering wind, coming and going—with them and yet again away—the Lord made to the Twelve ere He ascended, as if to accustom them little by little to His absence; when He made the mystic meal with them upon the shore, and talked to them of things which were to come. A lonely walk by the side of beautiful waters, thus hallowed by His appearance there, well befitted a train of such wild and wondrous thought.

At Capernaum, which lies situate on the northern extremity of the lake, St. Peter's house was shown, where Christ raised with His touch Peter's wife's mother from a fever. From Capernaum they came to Bethsaida, close by, where a church stood over the home of St. Andrew and Peter. From thence they passed round the head of the lake to Chorazaim, or Chorazim, on the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee, and looking down along the shore they viewed[2] the steeps of Gergassa, where over the precipices the herd of three thousand swine rushed headlong into the waters below. A single human heart could give room for an army; a "legion" of the host of Satan found pleasure there, and exercise

[1] Williams on the Passion, p. 406.

[2] Itin. Ant. Mart. in Reland. Palestine, p. 682, et ex Arculfo.

of their devilish will. All that headlong blindness, that perverse obstinacy and waywardness, that sufficed to hurry such a multitude of creatures to their own destruction, and choke them in the sea, had been concentrated in one man. Such is the abyss of the heart, with its dark unfathomable profound of evil, in which a hiding-place and haunts of revelry can be given to foul spirits innumerable, and into which they will gather, like night birds clustering in a cave, or crows and vultures flocking to a carrion carcass.[1]

Following upwards the course of the Jordan, from the northern shore of the Lake of Tiberias, they came to the sources of that mystic river—the river of Death. The two fountain-heads from which it springs rise beneath the roots of Lebanon, and join their waters at Cæsarea Philippi, the ancient Dan. They are called in the narrative, as in other ancient itineraries, Yor and Dan;[2] when mingled, at once a river of life and a river of death; of death, into which our Lord at His baptism descended; and of life henceforth, when purified through Him as a healing baptismal stream.

Here, between these sacred sources, among the mountains of Lebanon, they were lodged and entertained by the shepherds of the country, with whom they passed a night, and who gave them to drink sour buttermilk or whey. "There," continues the simply told story, "are cattle, marvellous to behold for the length of their backs, the shortness of their legs, and the mighty growth of their

[1] "Corvorum exercitus ingens."—Virgil.

[2] See Adrichomii Terra Sanct., p. 109.

horns; they are all of one colour, and that a deep red.[1] There are pools of great size there, into which they go down in the heat of summer, and bathe all their body, with nothing to be seen but their heads above water." The pools spoken off are probably the marshes of the "waters of Merom," the first lake which the Jordan forms. A great philosopher observes,[2] that it is a characteristic of a right and happy mind to be open to all the little satisfactions of life; and this is especially true of observation of little beauties, or curious things in nature. Children are full of such observation, which is a proof of what he remarks. Thus it seems as if the minds of the saintly wanderers dwelt naturally, and with much meaning, on the coloured cattle going down to bathe. They had been through a succession of excited, and almost ecstatic feeling, and their happiness and tenderness seeks to express itself in a refreshing pastoral scene. The deep and mysterious parts of Scripture ever seem to seek the same images, because words cannot tell high feelings, and darkly veiled semblances best convey solemn and sweet thoughts, which may be understood, but cannot be expressed.

Leaving the pleasant land of Zabulon and Naphtali, and the lake and mountains where the Lord loved to be during His earlier life and ministry, they descended, following the course of the Jordan, towards the more awful and melancholy scenery of the Holy Land, where that river flows down into the gloomy sea, which rolls its dead waters over the

[1] Coloris "ostrei."

[2] Bishop Butler's Sermons, Serm. xi.

old valley of Siddim. The character of the region around the Dead Sea is in the highest degree stern and impressive. "It lies," says the modern traveller, "in its deep cauldron, surrounded by lofty cliffs of naked limestone rock, exposed for eight months to the unclouded beams of a burning sun."[1] Towards this scene the travellers now descend. The transition is not unreal or strange; pain and pleasure, suffering and happiness, are deeply connected, and in the nature of things melancholy is intertwined with joy. Their passage down the vale of the Jordan is not described, and the river is little known, for few travellers have explored its course. Not far from its entrance into the lake of Death, the place of our Saviour's baptism is pointed out. The night before they visited it, they spent at the monastery of St. John the Baptist, about a mile from the spot. There lived a society of twenty monks, whose lonely and sad retreat made a fit preparation for the thoughts, and represented well the austere character of the dweller in the wilderness—the preacher of repentance; with them the wanderer might prepare himself by penitence and meditation, before he followed in the footsteps of the Lord, and, entering the river of Death, sought to be baptized with His baptism. On the morrow St. Willibald went down and plunged in the holy stream. The feeling is always a solemn one when the waters close over the head, shutting out the world, and filling the senses with their heavy weight and sound; but it must awake deeper awe to de-

[1] Dr. Robinson, vol. ii. sect. x.

scend into them where the Lord descended, taking from them the reproach of the deluge, and foreshowing His yet more fearful descent into the profound of hell. The Jordan, near St. John's, is a swift stream of whitish-coloured clayey water, between five and six feet deep, and the channel in one part narrows to fifty feet wide.[1] In St. Willibald's time a church stood on pillars in the stream, and a rope was stretched across the river, and fixed on either side, by which on the day of the Epiphany, sick and impotent people held and bathed, and obtained miraculous cures.

From the river and ford of Jordan, the place where the children of Israel crossed (as Scripture says "over against Jericho"), St. Willibald and his companions went up to Gilgal. Here lay twelve stones, in memory of that passage, and in figure of the twelve stones which the Lord chose, and laid for the foundation of His Church, when after ascending from the water He chose the twelve Apostles. Seven miles from Jordan they came to Jericho, lying in a vast, and for the most part desert plain, once "the city of Palms." There they visited the fountain of Elisha, which bursts forth from the foot of the mountain Quarentana, on which the Lord fasted forty days.[2] "Whatever that fountain waters," says St. Willibald, "grows healthily, and flourishes because of the blessing of the Prophet Elisha." The modern traveller bears the same witness: "The fountain pours forth a large stream of sweet and pleasant water,

[1] Dr. Robinson, vol. ii. sect. x. p. 261.
[2] Adrichomii Terra. S. in Benjamin, p. 17.

which is scattered in rivulets over a wide extent. By these abundant waters fertility and verdure are spread over the plain. Where the water does not flow the plain produces nothing."[1] The miracle, therefore, still remains; it is the well of life in an accursed land.

The ascent from Jericho to Jerusalem continues the solemn train of melancholy thought. It is the city of the curse of old, which clings to it still. Its sons were wicked mockers. Thieves infested its roads.[2] Elisha was jeered by children as he went up thence to Bethel; and to complete the mystery, it was there, in the way going up to Jerusalem, that the Lord "went before the disciples, and as they followed they were afraid." There was something about His look and demeanour so very awful and significant, that they fell back from Him like men "amazed," who can hardly bear some vision of horror; then He called them on, and told them of all that men should do to Him. And He said, "and they shall mock Him."[3]

Through Jericho, then, the pilgrims passed on to the city where the Lord was crucified. Resting at the monastery of St. Eustochius in the way, they reached at length the object of their long and painful travel, the city Jerusalem, once the joy of the whole earth, the favoured place of God; where in the day of its visitation, God manifest in the flesh exhibited to cruel unfeeling man all

[1] Dr. Robinson, vol. ii. sec. x. p. 286.
[2] "They are still thieves." See Dr. Robinson, ib.
[3] S. Mark x. 32, 46.

long-suffering and patience, and in return for the agonies which man inflicted, streamed forth to him from His wounds forgiveness and love. The first place they sought was Calvary, and the spot where the holy cross was found, and the garden and sepulchre near, in which the Lord was laid.

Modern visitors have been led to doubt the true site of Calvary, because they find it "within the walls."[1] They argue, that the place of our Lord's crucifixion, as we are expressly informed, was without the gate of the ancient city.[2] The words of St. Willibald are important, as giving an answer to this objection. "Formerly," he says, "this church stood outside of Jerusalem. But the blessed Helena, when she found the cross, enclosed the place within the walls of Jerusalem."

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, built by St. Helena, and described by Eusebius, had been burned more than a century past by the Persians, under Chosroes, when Jerusalem was taken in 614. The structure of the empress was very magnificent, enclosing under one roof the place of the crucifixion, of the invention of the cross, and of the sepulchre. These had lain concealed, partly by the ruins of time and desolations of Jerusalem, and partly through the rage of heathen malice, which seeks to obliterate Christ's memorial, until she discovered their site, and restored the sepulchre. In the narrative of St. Willibald, it is thus described: "Three crosses of wood stand on the east side of the church by the wall, in memory

[1] Journal of a Tour in Palestine, by a Lady.
[2] Dr. Robinson, vol. ii. sec. viii.

of the Lord's holy cross, and the others who were crucified with Him. They are not in the church, but stand forth under a roof without the church. Hard by is the garden, wherein was the sepulchre of our Saviour; and the sepulchre is hewn in a piece of rock, which, from a broad base below, runs up to a narrow point above, on the summit of which a cross stands. A church of marvellous beauty is built over it. On the east side of the rock in which the sepulchre is hewn is a door, by which they enter who would go in to pray. And on the northern side, upon the right hand as they enter to make their orisons, is a bier, whereon the holy body of Christ lay. On the bier are fifteen bowls of gold filled with oil, which keep lights that burn continually day and night. At the door of the sepulchre is a large square stone, to figure that stone which the angel removed from the mouth of the sepulchre."

We are commonly ready to allow the deep effect upon the heart, which tokens and memorials of a sufferer work. We all know the power they have of bringing home to us, and realising the verity of what he has undergone. All our compassion is awakened by a little token from a friend we have lost,[1] for the eyes are more faithful witnesses than the ears; and at the sight of Cæsar's bloody robe, Antony's hearers burst forth into tears and groans.[2] Thus we feel this sympathy with earthly friends, or with Cæsar's wounds, but we profess to be at

[1] "Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus."—HORACE.

[2] Aristotle, Rhetoric, ii. 8.

a loss to comprehend how faithful men in former days could so learn to suffer with Christ. Not so the great-hearted Willibald. These touching memorials, and that most holy place, filled his soul full of sweet sorrow, as the bowls of oil upon the bier. He lay prostrate in prayer upon Calvary, crucified to the world. Like Mary Magdalen of old, he kissed the footsteps of the Lord, and washed them with his tears. And at last, after visiting the Holy Sepulchre, whether from previous fatigue and exhaustion, from travel or other predisposition, or from strong emotion affecting him, on beholding the place where the wounded body of the Saviour lay, he fell very ill. Men nowadays, sensual or worldly, whose hearts are as the nether millstone, will look upon such effects as the symptoms of a hypochondriac, and call it mere raving and weakness, if they do not pronounce it hypocrisy. For so the world, judging from itself, thinks of God's saints; what does not affect it cannot really affect others, so it presumes; as if they could not be true-hearted, because it is so faithless and cruel: but neither would be moved to sorrow, though the awful scene of Calvary were again acted visibly before them.

It was the end of autumn when St. Willibald fell sick, about St. Martin's Day in the second year of his pilgrimage, and he continued very weak and ill for six weeks; yet, feeble as he was, he continued his visits of devotion, and contrived to crawl to the churches and holy places of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem at that time, as to the present day, stood upon a site something altered from that of

the ancient city. The line of walls was nearly the same as Adrian's when he rebuilt it and called it Ælia Capitolina.[1] Sion itself became a ploughed field, and the whole city has moved to the north-west, and towards Mount Calvary. Arculfus, who visited it in the seventh century, speaks of the south wall as excluding Sion.[2] Part, however, of it in the city of David, as well as the area of the temple, or Mount Moriah, was included. The walls had been probably repaired by the Mahometans after their capture of it. Still it stands on its lofty position upon its hills, which gives it a beautiful appearance and a cool and salubrious air.

St. Willibald sought, first after the sepulchre, the church of Sion, or of the Cœnaculum, the holy chamber of the Last Supper. How vividly the picture of that solemn scene would now rise upon his mind with all its thrilling interest, sensitive as he was through bodily weakness, and full of the blessed Saviour's sufferings! How would he imagine to himself the look with which He gave to those He loved His last precious gift, even Himself, that henceforth they might "take and eat," and distribute to multitudes, ever giving again the bread of life to thousands, yet themselves remaining twelve baskets full! The church of the Cœnaculum is at Sion gate, on Sion hill, and was built by St. Helena. From thence he went down through the city to the pool of Bethesda, one of the tanks or cisterns by which the city was anciently supplied with water, at which the sick were cured when the angel came

[1] Dr. Robinson, vol. i. sec. vii.
[2] Adamnanus ex Arculfo.

down upon the pool. In the time of St. Willibald it still was a "Piscina," but now for two centuries it has been dry.[1] Thence he went down to the Gate of the Valley, to visit the church and sepulchre of St. Mary, in the valley of Jehoshaphat.[2] It is a deep and narrow vale on the east side of the city, separating Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, and the brook or torrent Cedron runs at the bottom of the hollow. "Just without the gate stands," says St. Willibald, "a great pillar, and on the top of the pillar a cross, for a sign and memorial of the place where the Jews would fain have taken away the body of holy Mary, for as the eleven Apostles"[3] (St. Thomas was said to be away), "taking holy Mary's body, carried it out of Jerusalem, when they came to the city gate the Jews would have laid hold upon it, and upon this, those men who put forth their arms towards the bier to take her away remained as if glued, with their arms caught upon the bier, and could not move until, by the grace of God and the Apostles' prayers, they were freed, and then they let them go on. Holy Mary passed from this life in the place in the middle of Jerusalem which is called sacred Sion. From thence, as has been told, the Apostles carried her, and afterward the angels came and carried her to paradise."[4]

Thus from the cross of Calvary St. Willibald, after the example of St. John, who lived in the same home with Mary, sought Mary's church and shrine. The same sword which pierced her heart

[1] Dr. Robinson, vol. i. sec. vii.
[2] Adrichom. in Jerusalem, p. 172.
[3] Baronius, anno 48.
[4] De Assumpt. Virg. Mariæ. Vid. Baron. Eccl. Ann. anno 48.

had wounded his—sympathy with our Lord's sufferings. The church of Mary lies in the valley of Jehoshaphat, over the brook Cedron, and in it is her sepulchre, "not that," says the narrative, "her body is there, but in memorial of it, that there it lay." After making his orisons there, the saint ascended the Mount of Olives, the eastern side of the steep ravine. There is the garden of Gethsemane, the second paradise until Judas, like a second Satan, broke in upon its hallowed bounds to betray. Still some ancient olive-trees are standing,[1] and at that time a church marked the spot of our Lord's lonely watch for the coming of the thief by night, and His awful agony at the thought, more bitter than man can fathom, of being forsaken of the Father.

Out of this he passed to the height of the Mount of the Ascension, from the depth of the Lord's humiliation to the height of His glorification. On the very summit of Mount Olivet stood the church, over the spot where the Lord left His last footsteps upon earth. "A little light is kept burning there, under a glass lamplight, and the lanthorn of glass covers it all around, that it may burn both in sunshine and in rain, for that church is open above, and has no roof over," that with the men of Galilee the Christians might look up into heaven, and in heart thither ascend. And thus, from the early home of Nazareth, through the land of Galilee and the waters of Jordan, to Jerusalem and Calvary, St. Willibald had followed the Lord's footmarks,

[1] Journal of a Tour in Palestine, by a Lady.

and now stood on the confines of earth and heaven, gazing upon His last track of glory, and desiring, with all saints, to be drawn up after Him.

The winter of the year 725 was now over, and the second year of their travel completed. In the third year of his pilgrimage St. Willibald, with his seven companions, left Jerusalem to visit the cave of Bethlehem, which, next to Mount Calvary and Olivet, was the great resort of pilgrims to the Holy Land, so that the gate of Jerusalem, which leads to Bethlehem, is still called the Pilgrims' Gate.[1] The country about Bethlehem is still some of the richest in Palestine. "The whole tract before us," says the "Modern Traveller," speaking of the route thither, "was full of olive groves, especially in Wâdy Ahmed, and on the slopes of Beit Yâla, and also in the valleys on the east of the low swell or water-shed; while towards Bethlehem were likewise many orchards of fig-trees. Moreover, it abounded formerly in vines, and produced the richest wines in all Judæa." The name itself signifies the "house of bread."[2] There are fertile fields and pasture lands near, watered by a running stream, in which flocks of sheep and goats feed together. In these pasture grounds the angelic host announced the Nativity to the shepherds: the village stands upon a rocky ridge, seven miles from Jerusalem. The stable for cattle, the place of our blessed Lord's Nativity, was an excavation in the rock, hollowed out for that purpose. Afterwards, the surrounding earth was moved away, and

[1] Dr. Robinson, vol. i. sec. vii., vol. ii. sec. x. p. 157.
[2] Adrichomii T. Sancta in Juda.

a large church built over the whole by St. Helena, containing the cave or grotto as an inner shrine or crypt. "There," says St. Willibald, "over the place where the Lord was born, stands a high altar, and another lesser altar is made for this, that when they will celebrate the mass within the cave, they may carry this little altar within, to celebrate the mass there, and then again may carry it forth again without, and elevate it. The church, which stands over where the Lord was born, is built in the figure of a cross, an exceeding beautiful house."[1] Here, with the shepherds and the three eastern kings, the magi, they bowed in lowly adoration, humbling all their pride, as did those holy men of old, when they fell down and bowed before a little child. From Bethlehem they went two miles to Thecua or Tekoa, the place of the murder of the Holy Innocents; it is a rich pasture-land, and watered, as if to figure the pleasant pasture and waters of comfort, where there is no more crying nor tears, in which feed the suffering little ones of Christ.[2]

From Tekoa they travelled to the vale in which is the laura or monastery of the monks of St. Sabas. Communities of Anchorites dwelling in separate cells were called "lauræ," that is, "streets" or villages. St. Sabas was a great founder of these, a holy man of the sixth century: one was near Tekoa, another in the "Monks' Vale," as it is still called by the Arabs, situated in the continuation of the valley of Jehoshaphat, between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea.[3] Already other monasteries have

[1] "Gloriosa domus." [2] Adrichomii T. Sancta in Juda.
[3] Dr. Robinson, vol. i. sec. vii.

been mentioned, on Tabor and St. John's near Jordan; so that it seems there were considerable numbers then existing in the Holy Land. In the fourth century, in the time of St. Jerome, who was a monk of the convent of Bethlehem, Palestine was filled with monks and hermits, as well as the neighbouring deserts of Sinai: St. Jerome speaks of the "great multitude of brethren and bodies of monks, who dwelt in and around Jerusalem;"[1] but it is probable, at the visit of St. Willibald, their numbers were much diminished from what they had been, as the Saracens had destroyed many monasteries, and slain the monks during the wars; and not long after this time the monastery of St. Sabas was pillaged, and the Anchorites massacred, in a civil war that raged in Palestine. The greater monastery of St. Sabas is thus described by Willibald: "It is a large convent, and the abbot, and sacristan, and many monks live in the convent, and many other monks live round the valley in the steep rock of the mountain; and they have little chambers cut out here and there in the stony side of the mountain. The mountain runs like an amphitheatre round the hollow, and in the hollow the convent is built. There sleeps the holy Sabas."

Leaving now the land of Judah, they went down by the road towards Egypt to the coast of the Philistines, through the region of Dan. There a church stood in a valley by the side of a fountain, marking the place where Philip baptized the eunuch. There the Ethiopian changed his skin,

[1] Ep. xxxviii. ad Pammach.

and becoming new and clean in the waters of Baptism, put away the dark curse of the son of Ham. From thence they came down to Gaza, and went to pray in the church of St. Matthias. And now a remarkable event occurred in the history of the saint: "It was the Lord's Day," says the narrative, "and great glory is in that church" (probably miraculous manifestation is meant), "and after the solemn sacrifice of the mass, while St. Willibald stood looking on the mysteries, he lost the sight of his eyes, and was blind for two months." There is something very mysterious in this history of the saint. It was at Gaza that Samson the warrior of the tribe of Dan lost his eyes, when he had declared the mystery of the seven locks. The things of faith may not be exposed; it is dangerous even to look into them too far: when the intellect of man has, with an eagle eye, gazed upon deep things of faith, until height and depth are opened, and it soars into the bright expanse which has neither fathom nor bound; when, with keen examination, it has pursued and brought out, as it were, into clear delineation, the delicate tracery of the awful truths of Christianity, as a mathematician pursues the windings of a curve; then what, if it falls, blasted with excessive light, and goes down through presumption to perdition! St. Matthias succeeded Judas, and Judas had seen the Word of Life, full of "all beauty and truth," yet he felt it not, and fell like Lucifer. Awful thought! especially in these times when so many are taught to pry and examine, and leave nothing unexplored, so few are taught to feel! when reason is enlarged, encouraged,

expanded, until it is full blown, the heart is left unsubdued, undisciplined, unhumbled; what must be the issue of such a terrible philosophy? St. Willibald had been gazing upon the Sun of glory in His strength, from His dawning at Nazareth to His departing splendour on Calvary and Olivet, and now he was taught how to be secure against the danger. Bethlehem had taught him to bow down his reason, and become as a weaned child. The Holy Innocents had taught him to suffer with Christ; that thus, the dark Ethiopian hue of sinful man might be done away; and his mind be renewed, which otherwise would utterly fall away. Two months of darkness gave him time to meditate on the lesson of humility, while he was led by the hand, first to Hebron, the burial-place of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and from thence to Jerusalem. Again, as in his infant days, the salutary sign of the cross was his cure. He entered the church of the Invention of Holy Cross, and immediately his eyes were opened, and he recovered his sight. This is the security against pride, and a bridle upon inquiry, an anchor in the sea of mystery, and when reason is bewildered and lost, an illumination.

After a pause at Jerusalem, spent in thankfulness and devotion at this miraculous recovery, he went forth again, as it were in a different guise, in the panoply of faith, with the cross upon his breast, like a Christian conqueror in triumph, having gained the victory over pride, the great destroyer of souls. First, he visited the church of St. George at Lydda, the martyred saint of Cappadocia, who for some noble feat in the fight of Faith, in which

probably he met to the face the leviathan principle of anti-Christian pride, is ever said in the allegorical language of the prophet "to have wounded the dragon," and is styled a captain of the soldiers of the cross. From Lydda he went along the sea to Joppa, Tyre, and Sidon, cities emblematic of pride and luxury:—Tyre, the purple-clad harlot and sorceress, Sidon, the scene of Herod's blasphemous presumption, where he was smitten by the wrath of God, the type of Antichrist, and the man of sin. After passing through these, he went up mount Libanus by the valley of St. George, and over to Damascus, the City of Blood:—all images of horror, which indeed gather round the path of the Christian through the world, like the horrible fantastic figures conjured up round the hero of some old story of romance. Again he came to Jerusalem to spend the winter, for in the rainy season it is necessary to seek shelter in Palestine; and finally to Ptolemais, or Acre, and there kept Lent, completing the third year of wandering since he left Rome.

The plague was now raging over the whole of Syria, and St. Willibald was seized with it at Acre, and could proceed no further. It is no small trial to be taken with a dreadful disorder in a foreign land, where no comforts or alleviations are to be obtained to ease one's sufferings; and this was now probably the condition of the Saxon prince. However, men of God do not suffer in such distresses that anguish of mind which tortures common men. They do not feel that anxiety to escape out from the country attacked by pesti-

lence, because it is ridiculous to think of fleeing out of God's hand. Still they know that under His feathers they are safe, and that He is their buckler and shield. Such thoughts spread a composure round their sick bed. Every tie which had bound St. Willibald's party to an earthly home had long been broken; they were palmers and not pilgrims;—for a palmer and a pilgrim, according to some, differ in this: a pilgrim has a home to which he returns when his vow is performed, a palmer has none; a pilgrim goes to a certain place in particular, a palmer goes to all; a pilgrim renounces his profession after a time, a palmer does never until he has won the heavenly palm of victory over the world.[1] St. Willibald, then, and his companions were palmers, for they had broken all the bands which tied them to England, left all that are called prospects in life, and renounced their home for ever. To die, to them was gain, because death is the avenue to the better land where the weary cease from wandering.

St. Willibald lay sick through Lent until Easter. Meanwhile he sent some of his companions to return to Edessa, and obtain a passport from the khalif for repassing the frontiers, and returning to Europe. He was anxious for their sakes, though not for his own. It was necessary to obtain a second passport, because though they had leave to pass into the country, they had none to leave it, and the guard might have become more strict

[1] Fosbroke on Pilgrim. ch. viii.

because of the plague. When the messengers arrived at Edessa, they found the khalif had left the country, having fled from the pestilence which was spread over all that region, and they returned again disappointed to Ptolemais. Then waiting until St. Willibald was able to accompany them, they set out again for Edessa to petition the wealthy old sheik, or emir, who had first put them in prison, to give them letters. It seems he had the power, and perhaps he had a kindness for the noble Willibald, for he seems at his request to have given them readily, and even to have given them letters two by two for greater convenience of travelling, and obtaining food, for there was a famine as well as a plague.

Once more, therefore, they returned for the fourth time to Jerusalem, to bid farewell to the Holy City; as though they could not be satisfied with viewing the sweet spots of the Saviour's sufferings, and seeking the repose of the Holy Sepulchre. After lingering there a while, they took a final leave of Jerusalem, and proceeded towards the coast, taking their route through Samaria. The city was then called Sebaste, and the church contained remains of St. John the Baptist. There, too, formerly lay the bones of the prophet Elisha, which by their touch raised the dead, and by that one surpassing miracle foreshowed those wonders which the Gospel should afterwards work through the bodies of Christ's saints. Near Samaria stood a castellum, the ancient Sychar, and there was Jacob's Well, where the Lord asked drink of the woman of Samaria. A church was then built over

it, fulfilling the words of the Lord, that there should be a Church throughout all the world, supplying everywhere a spiritual worship, and living wells at which he who drinks doth thirst no more. The well of Jacob is now dry, and the church which stood over it is destroyed, and its columns lie broken by it.[1]

Then they came to a large village, at the extreme territory of Samaria, and now looked down upon the vast plain of Esdraelon, which lies between the mountains of Gilboa and Carmel, the ancient valley of Jezreel. The plain was planted with groves of olive trees. An African joined himself to their company with two camels and a mule, conducting a lady; probably for the sake of their protection and company in crossing the plain, in which there were lions. There are no lions in Palestine now, but Phocas[2] speaks of them in the twelfth century as lurking in the caves round the banks of Jordan. As they travelled through a woody part, a monstrous lion made towards them. By the advice of the African, they kept steadily on, and the beast, cowed by their courageous self-possession, turned aside from the party, and made off. Afterwards they learned that the ravenous creature fell upon some olive-gatherers, and killed them. Christianity, by restoring innocence, restores the dignity and fallen majesty of man, before which the hungry beasts of the amphitheatre fell back in dismay.[3]

[1] Dr. Robinson, vol. iii. sec. xiv. 109.
[2] Ioan. Phocas de T. S. ap. Boll. Maii, t. ii.
[3] Ignatii Epist.

Thus they came down to the coast to a strong castle on the sea, upon a promontory of Lebanon, probably now Kulat or Shamaa.[1] Here their passports were demanded, and without them they would have been imprisoned. From thence they came to Tyre, to take their departure from the Holy Land; and at Tyre they were seized and rigorously searched, lest they should carry away any forbidden goods with them. Even at this time the profession of Christianity was abused by traders, who carried on a smuggling by means of pretended pilgrimages.[2] Their provision-bags were filled with bales, which they thus exported free of duty or custom, from which pilgrims were usually made exempt by laws.

St. Willibald was no trader, but he had with him a little phial of balsam, which he bought at Jerusalem, and wished to carry away as a relic of the Holy Land. The balsam has medicinal virtues, and was a salve for wounds. The opobalsam, a very precious drug, grew formerly in the valleys of Engaddi, and the tree from which it exuded was called the vine of Engaddi. The plant is said to have been transferred to Egypt by Cleopatra into the gardens of Heliopolis. There it flourished, and is thus described by a traveller in the middle ages :[3] "The vine itself," he says, "is a tree small and low, its stem is short, and small in compass, commonly about a foot high, from which straight sprigs shoot every year. The former ones being pruned off, these run to the length of two or three feet, and

[1] See Dr. Robinson, Map. [2] Fosbroke, c. 5.
[3] Itin. Sym. Simeonis, p. 49.

bear no fruit; but near their extremities Christian men employed by the keepers of the vine open the rind with a lancet of sharp stone,[1] with a slit like a cross, and straightway they drop balsam in bright distilling drops; for it drops more freely when opened by Christian hands than when cut by filthy Saracens. It is sweet-smelling, light and small, much like the hazel-tree, with leaves very like the water-cress. It is diligently guarded, for it is a source of great treasure to the Sultan." From this it seems to have been very precious; and now it is no longer known to exist. However, the Myro-Balanum, according to a recent traveller,[2] still grows in the neighbourhood of Jericho: it bears a green nut which produces oil, as the olives, and this oil is called balsam. It is highly prized by the Arabs and pilgrims as a remedy for wounds and bruises. The pilgrims call it Zaccheus' oil. It would seem to have been a phial of this latter kind that St. Willibald wished to take away as a religious memorial. He concealed it, says the narrative, in the following manner:—"The phial was of cane, and into it he fitted a smaller cane cut even at the top and neatly fitted at the edge, and so put on the lid:" the smaller phial he filled above with a strong-scented oil called "Petræ oleum." This the searching officers smelt and let it pass. What the need of this ingenuity and concealment was, is not said. He ran some risk, for it is said, if it had been found, he might have been killed. Doubtless he

[1] See Tacit. Hist. b. v.

[2] Dr. Robinson, vol. ii. sec. x. p. 291.

had a religious reason for the value he set upon it.[1]

At length, upon St. Andrew's day, they set sail from Palestine, in the fourth year since they left Rome, and the whole winter they were at sea. No doubt they went through much misery in so tedious a voyage, which, though only from Palestine to Constantinople, took them in winter months nearly as long as it now does to sail to the Antipodes : the danger was greater, and in discomfort and want of accommodation there would be no comparison. They landed at Constantinople just before Easter. Here St. Willibald stayed two years. "In the church," says the narrative, "rest the bodies of the Holy Andrew and Timothy and Luke the Evangelist in one altar; and the great John, he of the golden speech, sleeps before the altar, beneath the place where the priest stands to perform mass." So great was St. Willibald's veneration and love for these great saints, that he and his companions had cells or chambers within the church, from which they could continually turn their eyes to the altar where they reposed. It is remarkable to see with what cordiality a Latin monk was then received at the central place of the Greek Church, and how perfectly he could then conform to it; but this happy state of Christendom did not continue long after that time.

It is a refreshment in a weary time and unquiet days, to turn back the aching sight from a world

[1] "Costly oil of balsam was used in early times for feeding the lights upon the altar." Buddæi. Parerga, p. 81. Brett on the Liturgies, p. 349.

full of stirs and dissensions, and tossings to and fro, and forget it for a while in contemplating the peacefulness of men of former days. Follow them where we will, the same vision of peace meets us resting on the head of these saintly travellers. Everywhere they find quiet resting-places, because everywhere the Church is their home. They find no difficulty in staying, no reluctance in going. They have no prospects in life to wake thoughts for the morrow: like birds of the air, or flowers of the field, they have neither toil nor spinning—they wander not as happiness-hunters of modern times, from land to land like unquiet ghosts seeking rest and finding none ; but be where they may, there is peace without, and peace unimaginable within.

Some time, during these two years, St. Willibald made a pilgrimage specially to Nicæa in Bithynia, to visit the church and the place of the great council gathered by Constantine. There were images or pictures of all the bishops present at it, three hundred and eighteen. It is difficult to understand why people do not love such beautiful spectacles, unless it is because they are ashamed or afraid. Doubtless St. Willibald looked upon the solemn figures of these majestic bishops in their conclave with glad and happy eyes, and it brought to his mind a picture of the glory of the Church, "beautiful as the moon, terrible as an army with banners" in her saints' array. Having seen this church he returned to Constantinople, and remained until the sixth year of his pilgrimage was over.

In the spring of the seventh year the Pope's nuncio and the legate of the Emperor were sailing

to Italy, and gave our pilgrims an opportunity to return. At this very time differences were begun, and Gregory had written his letters of remonstrance to the disobedient Cæsar, Leo the Isaurian. Probably St. Willibald was one of the last of those who enjoyed the inter-communion of the eastern and western Churches before the schism which then followed. They set sail for Sicily, and arrived at Syracuse; from thence touching at Catana, they came to Reggio in Calabria, and from Reggio they sailed to see Volcano, one of the Lipari isles, at that time in a state of eruption. St. Willibald wished to ascend to obtain a view of the boiling crater, called then "the infernum of Theodoric"; but they could not climb the mountain from the depth of the ashes and scoria. So they contented themselves with a view of the flames as they rose with a roaring like thunder, and the vast column of smoke ascending from the pit. Modern geologists examine these phenomena with a cool unconcern, and lecture upon the lava; they draw no solemn thoughts from the awful spectacles of nature; that well is too deep for their superficial minds to draw from: saints have deeper feelings and less idle curiosity. Such images supply to them the terrible analogies in the moral world, which faith makes visible through the shadows of the world of matter. Starting from thence, they touched at St. Bartholomew's on the shore of Italy near Beneventum, and landed at Naples. The Archbishop of Naples received the party there with much state and dignity, owing indeed to their coming in company with dignitaries, the nuncio and legate; but such reception well be-

came the noble and saintly pilgrims. He entertained them for some time ; and being sent on from him to Capua and Teanum, they were hospitably received by the bishops of each place, whose duty it is, as then was practised, to entertain strangers, until they came to the Benedictine monastery of Monte Casino, so famous at that time and afterwards. There they were received as brethren, and took up their abode.

The abbot of Monte Casino was Petronax of happy memory, who had restored that monastery from the ruined and desolate state to which it had been brought by the spoliations of the Lombards, and had revived in it the strict Benedictine rule, so that it became celebrated for its great order and regularity and the number of its monks.[1] At that time they were scanty in numbers, and the abbot welcomed them gladly. It was now the close of the seventh year of his pilgrimage when the wanderer came to Monte Casino. St. Willibald was in the prime of life, near thirty years of age, and with his constitution unimpaired by the hardships and sufferings he had undergone. And now, strange contrast ! after seven years on the move, he remained ten years in this quiet retreat, together with his friend Diapert, his faithful companion. During these ten years he exhibited the model of a monk's character. He had taken up the tissue of his life, begun at Waltham, as if it were but yesterday. For the first year he served as sacristan of the church ; the second year he filled the office

[1] Baronius, An. 716.

of dean of the monastery; and the eight following years was porter, first of the convent on Monte Casino, which stands on a lofty hill, and afterwards of the convent lying beneath by the river in a lower situation. Thus in those days of meek faith a king's son did not refuse to become a humble doorkeeper to a poor brotherhood, for they counted it an honour and a pleasure then to wait upon others. True courtesy levels all ranks; it makes poor men into princes and serving-men of kings. In that same monastery, not long after, King Carlomann became a menial for three years in disguise. If may seem strange, that after being dean of that monastery the saint should become porter; but the rule of St. Benedict requires that at the gate be placed a brother of staid character and advanced years, that he may always be in his place when wanted. The saint's maturity of mind would make up for his want of age, for in the moral world the well-regulated mind of youth is fuller of years than old age undisciplined.[1] Now it seemed that he had fallen into the channel of his former life, and that like a soldier, his warfare over, or a seaman who has tossed upon the waves, he had retired into a calm repose. There, with the companions of his travels, he could recall the scenes they had gone through, and meditate on the sufferings and patience of the Lord. Such ease and indulgence of our heart may be vain when things of the world are concerned; but the retirement of saints is a preparation for toil. Divine providence was preparing

[1] Οὐχ ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος κρίνεται.—Clemens Rom.

a fresh call for St. Willibald to come forth into a life of action. He had had his time for improvement of self, he was to have his time of labouring for others; and his former life of wild travel and eager penance had been a suitable introduction to the toils which were to follow. He was to be the missionary of the Germans, under St. Boniface, who was now at Rome.

The great Apostle of Germany returned to his labours in 738. The next year a Spanish priest came on a visit for a while to the Benedictine convent on Monte Casino. He wished naturally to see Rome; and asking the leave of the Abbot Petronax, begged at the same time the company of St. Willibald, whom he had probably become attached to during his visit, and whose previous knowledge of Rome ten years ago, and long travel, made him a desirable companion and guide to the threshold of the Apostles. The place of his retirement had become endeared to St. Willibald, but he assented with that ready willingness to oblige, and obedience to the wishes of others, which characterise men whose wills have been subdued by Christianity; so he went with the priest of Spain, and they came to the Basilica of St. Peter's together.

Gregory III. heard that the brother of Monte Casino was come to Rome, and desired to see him. St. Willibald when brought into his presence made obeisance to the ground with great reverence. Gregory prayed him to recount the story of his pilgrimage, and drew from him his adventures by repeated questions—the long hardships of the

travel, their imprisonment, the bathing in the river Jordan, and the scenes of Bethlehem and Jerusalem. The beautiful old narrative says that many shed tears at hearing these things recounted, because there stood a living man who had done so much for the sake of our blessed Saviour, and they themselves had done so little in return for His great love.

The Greek poet says there is pleasure in tears; much more then in such tears as these. After he had delighted himself a long time with such conversation, the Apostolical Pontiff suddenly told him of the request of the great Boniface, that his nephew, Willibald, should be sent for from the convent of Monte Casino to help him in his great work of teaching the nation of the Franks, and accordingly that it was his own wish and entreaty that he would go. Willibald, while expressing his willingness to obey, made request that he might ask permission from his superior, the Benedictine abbot, according to the monastic rule by which he was bound. Upon which the Pontiff commanded him to go, saying, "It was enough for him to receive the order from himself, since his superior was equally bound to obey at any moment such commands as he should give him." Upon this the saint submitted; freely showing here, as throughout his life, the same simplicity of obedience, without reserve, which marks his character.

Diapert, his friend, was left behind at Monte Casino. At Easter he departed from Rome, in the year 740, and went towards Germany. He came to Lucca: there he and his brother had buried the

body of his father, St. Richard, nearly twenty years before. Much doubtless did St. Willibald long to come to that same repose, quieter even than his late retreat. But life with its toils and anxieties was beginning for him now anew, with forty more years of labour in his Lord's service. Thus in his instance was reversed the order of the perfecting of saints. He began with the contemplative life for forty years, occupied in chanting psalms when a child, in a pilgrim's meditations and devotions all his youth, and hermit-like in his retreat in manhood; he then commenced anew the active life, untiring like the eagle on wing, which gazes on the sun, and wheel upon wheel rises ever vigorous towards the fountain of light.

Leaving Lucca, he came through Lombardy, where Luitprand, the Lombard, was preparing to disturb the peace of Italy, and so to Odilo, Duke of Bavaria, who received and entertained him for a week. From him he came to Count Suiger of Hirsberg, with whom he stayed another week, and then the count accompanied him to Linthrat, to Archbishop Boniface. The great Winfred—for so his name sounds more sweetly to our ears, though changed for euphony to Boniface,—was now marking out into episcopal sees the wild region he had brought to Christianity. Count Suiger had bestowed upon the Church the country of Aichstadt, then a waste forest land overspread with oaks, for the sake of charity and for the redemption of his soul. St. Boniface sent Willibald to look at it, as he had marked this for his future bishopric. It was a woody district, with scattered rude popula-

tion, bearing, perhaps, some similitude to our wild colonial regions, with one small church in the whole dedicated to St. Mary; yet to a missionary it offered in one point a very different field for exertion—fresh though rugged tempers of German foresters, instead of an exhausted soil of seared and blighted hearts. Suiger and Willibald searched through the country for a suitable spot for fixing a residence and establishing a conventual body of clergy. It is pleasing for a moment to dwell on the method of conducting a mission in such ancient times. The reality of Christianity when brought newly to a heathen land has nothing about it that can be called absurd or ridiculous; nothing but what is solemn and great:—if it prevails it does so in beauty, and if it suffers it suffers in majestic pain.

Both of these apostolic men, Winfred and Willibald, were remarkable for their fair bodily proportions as well as saintliness; and such angelic messengers well befitted the good tidings of the holy Evangele. Wise counsel was shown in building religious houses in a fitting manner, with attention to their place on some beautiful and healthy site, and generally if possible near some running water. Thus the dignity of religion was not compromised, and its stateliness, far surpassing the natural dignity of man, awed the savage mind, which, as may be observed in children too, is keenly alive to notions of grandeur and sublimity, and quick in detecting what is laughable or mean. After staying some time to explore, and having chosen a site, they returned to St. Boniface, at Frisinga,[1]

[1] Ann. Eccl. German, lib. 4, lxxii.

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and afterwards he in person came with them to Aichstadt, and there he ordained Willibald priest, on St. Mary Magdalen's day, July 740; and he entered upon his duties as priest of St. Mary's of Aichstadt.

The archbishop had written letters to Gregory III., praying his sanction to make four new bishroprics, and his design had been approved. In this year Gregory died, and Zacharias succeeded. The archbishop prayed him to confirm, by seal and letters patent, the four sees. Zacharias signified his consent; only he requested that no very small or insignificant place might be honoured with so great a dignity, lest the name of bishop become too common and be despised. It seems that in consequence of this Erfurt, which was designed for one, was left out; but Wirzburg and Bamberg were dignified with a bishop's chair.[1]

In the autumn of the year 741, about Martinmas, St. Boniface sent for Willibald to come to him to Salzburg, in Thuringia. Accordingly he repaired thither. In the way he was lodged hospitably by his brother Winibald, who received him in his monastery. It was now many years since he had seen him, and the meeting must have been very interesting, for each had much to tell. Probably it was eighteen years since they had seen one another; and the one had been to Palestine—the other had been back to England. That they might have met if they pleased is certain, for at one time St. Winibald was at Rome while his brother was at Monte Casino, and they had for the last year been

[1] Ann. Eccl. German, lib. 4, lxxxvii.

not far from one another in Germany. Could these two brothers, it will be asked, have loved one another? what indifference is here?—so the world will say: but the world, like children, judges only by tokens and signs—it looks for exhibition and display of feeling, whereas true affection is deep and still, and often has the appearance of coldness. The two brothers, though they had not sought the meeting, truly rejoiced together when they met; not as if they were estranged by long absence from each other, but as if they had parted yesterday. As soon as Willibald arrived at Salzburg, the archbishop, together with his two newly created Bishops of Wirzburg and Bamberg, Burchard and Wizo, laid their hands upon him and consecrated him Bishop of Aichstadt. Having paused a week, he returned to the place of residence which had been appointed to him.

He was now in his forty-first year; and he began with untiring vigour to bring his wild diocese into order. The plan he pursued was to establish in all parts of the wide-spread region religious houses. He penetrated into the depths of the woodlands for this purpose: Monte Casino and St. Benedict was his model. Three of his countrymen and fellow pilgrims either accompanied him from thence or joined him, and these he established with himself at Aichstadt.

The next year, in May, the archbishop called a council, which is nearly the last incident on record in St. Willibald's life. St. Boniface had long had it at heart, and petitioned the leave of Carlomann, the most powerful of the sons of Charles Martel,

and obtained the sanction of Zacharias, the pontiff. Carlomann attended with his barons, and St. Boniface sat with about twelve bishops. St. Willibald was his chancellor and chief adviser. The canons passed at this synod are interesting, since they give us an insight into difficulties the Church had to struggle with in subduing the wild people of Germany.

There is a canon among them to forbid ordained priests and monks from wearing arms and going to war, and from going hunting and hawking; things to which from ancient times the inhabitants were used, for a German was by nature from his birth a warrior and a forester. There is a canon for the garb of priests and deacons; that they wear the chasuble and not a common mantle; and very severe statutes against immoralities in the clergy are enacted; for any instance in a priest, scourging until the flesh of the body was laid open, and imprisonment for two years with fasting on bread and water.[1] But especially there are curious canons against heathen superstitions, with a list subjoined of some of the most remarkable. For instance, burning the dead is forbidden; and offering dead-men's meats, which were probably little pieces of meat and cups of beer left at the graves or tumuli. A feast called "Hornung," or the drinking bout, is forbidden. Meeting in churches to revel and keep wassail—for, strange and shocking as it seems, yet it is not to be wondered that wild untamed dwellers in the woods should easily transfigure the joy of

[1] See Annales Eccl. Ger. lib. 4, cxxiii.

Christianity into their own merry-meetings, and so introduce, as it seems they did, a wild licence into the churches in which they assembled;—feasting and drinking went on, and even drawing lots or gaming, and alternate choruses were sung instead of the Church's antiphons. Besides this they adored forest trees. Nine heads[1] of slaughtered animals were hung in a row upon the boughs. They did sacrifice, and placed lights at high-stones and rocking-stones. They did sacrifice to Christian saints as to gods, wore amulets, made incantations, auguries, and divinations, and took signs from dogs, hares, crows, and cuckoos. Reverenced places which they called "unsteten," where the fairies pinched them, that is, where they received a hurt they could not account for, and such other vulgar superstitions as still linger among common people. They kept festivals of the god of war and of thunder, and at the waning of the moon or eclipse they used to howl aloud, as they said, to give help to it. All these things, and such as these, are forbidden. Under sentence of death it is forbidden that any should burn an old woman for a witch, acting under a deception of the devil and from heathen notions. So untrue is it that Christianity, though it avails itself of what is innocent and good in the practices of those it brings under its power, does countenance or allow of idle superstition. On the contrary, departure from the Church has led back many miserable people, under the delusion of the devil, into these very superstitions.

[1] See Life of St. Germanus, and Fouqué's Sintram.

Of St. Willibald's life few facts remain beyond the general statements of his discharge of duties as a bishop. He encouraged agriculture, and brought under the plough much of the uncleared and waste land of that region, to which the religious houses much contributed by introducing and teaching the arts of husbandry. Such was the wisdom and eloquence with which he was gifted that St. Boniface often sent for him to Mayence. In the councils he was placed at the archbishop's right hand, and was his chancellor and prolocutor in all business, being made chief in honour of all the suffragan bishops. In particular he received a vestment called the "rationale," an emblem of great wisdom and perfection, and which is one of the chief pontiff's robes.

He himself is thus pictured by Philip, afterwards Bishop of Aichstadt—His alms were great, his watchings often, his prayers frequent. He was perfect in charity and gentleness, his conversation was very holy, the openness of his heart was glassed in the placidity of his face, and its affectionate kindness in the sweetness of his speech, and all that pertained to life eternal he exemplified in deed as he preached in word. His countenance portrayed the beauty of his soul, and the rest of his figure bore the character of sanctity. His look was majestic, and terrible to gainsayers—awfully severe, yet adorably kind. His step was stately and grave. When he reproved by authority, humility tempered the rebuke, and while the frown gathered on his brow to threaten the guilty, the kindness of his heart was pleading for them within. So towards those that did well he appeared a Peter, towards those who

did evil a very Paul; and these graces were so in him united—the mercy of the former and the severity of the latter—that though his presence was awful his absence was painful. How little he sought his own ease, and how he had subdued his own will, how earnest he was in toil and patient in affliction, contempt, and poverty, while he fled from riches and honour, is seen in his life. His abstinence was very great, for from contemplation of our Saviour's sufferings in his pilgrimage and retirement, his heart was so wounded that tears were his food day and night. Much character is shown in the life which he wrote, and which remains, of the great Boniface. The preface shows his humility and the diffidence he felt in undertaking such a work.

In the year 761 Willibald buried his brother Winibald, sixteen years afterwards his sister Walburga, for he outlived them both. They died as their father, in the sweetness of holiness, and most happily. And the three were gone before him—the last, but if we may compare the deeds of saints, the greatest of the family—to wait for him in paradise. He began his energetic life of holiness the first and ended it the last. His service was at length over, and he died, above eighty years old. The supposed date is the year 786.

St. Willibald was buried in the crypt of his own church of St. Mary of Aichstadt; afterwards he was canonised by Leo VII. in the tenth century, and his relics carried from the crypt and laid beneath, first, the altar of St. Vitus, then in St. Mary's choir, and afterwards in the part of the

cathedral of Aichstadt called St. Willibald's choir. The translation from the crypt was made by Bishop Henry, of Aichstadt, in the year 1256, and it is related that on opening the sarcophagus a sweet fragrance issued from the bones.

LIFE OF

ST. WALBURGA

VIRGIN, ABBESS OF HEIDENHEIM, DIED 777

It is one of the wonderful things of wonder-working Christianity that it seizes on all tempers and dispositions of mankind, and moulds them to its holy purposes, and thus it brings all their infinite variety into its own perfect unity, like some vast Gothic minster, which, while it is building, refuses not to take into its composition rude and fretted stones, as well as squared and smooth, and when complete blends them all into a beautiful harmonious whole, deriving not the least part of its grand effect from those jutting cornices and irregular friezes which in their detail are so grotesque and strange. Christianity rejects none; if only there is a willing heart, surrendering itself such as it is, worthless or weak, or care-eaten and cankered; of such it can still make use in furthering its great design.

It would seem at first sight impossible that weak children and delicate women, whom the world has never, so to speak, cauterised into hardness, could have strength enough to embrace the pains of the

cross; they will surely turn away from the first taste of bitterness in the cup it offers, or faint at the sight of the fearful shadows which fall upon its path. Yet the All-Merciful teaches the shorn lamb to abide the blast, and this very weakness, when supported by Divine love, becomes most strong. Christianity knows no difference of sex; in it there is "neither male nor female," because there is but one character to which all must conform, one likeness which all must imitate, and from it man must learn all the gentleness and tenderness of woman, and woman must learn all the strength and severity of man. Many holy saints have persevered to the end, who have brought an innocent, light-hearted gaiety, and weakness like the bending reed, to learn its sorrows. They find it hard, like St. Thomas, to believe its awful realities, and scarcely guess beforehand the pain they must go through; yet, when it is understood, they receive it readily and with all their heart.

St. Walburga was the daughter of Richard, the Saxon king and Saint of the eighth century, and sister of the two holy brothers Winibald and Willibald. She lived as a child in the wealthy house of the king her father, and was probably his youngest child. When she was yet little, her father and brothers went away from England on pilgrimage to Italy and the Holy Land, and she was left behind. It is of her probably that her father speaks when he complained of leaving "children not yet grown up," and pleaded this with his son as a reason for not deserting his home. However, this objection was overruled, and they departed.

The story does not say whether the mother was left with the orphan child; but Queen Winna the mother of Winibald and Willibald was dead, and if St. Walburga had a mother living, she was the daughter of a second wife, which the narrative seems to suppose.

She was taken to Wimburn Minster in Dorsetshire. It had been built only two or three years before, by Cuthberga, sister of King Ina, in the year 718. Into it she herself retired with her sister Queenberga, and there, together with other noble young ladies, amongst whom were St. Lioba and Thecla, they formed a convent of holy nuns under the Abbess Tetta. The two princesses were Walburga's relatives; and Lioba and Thecla were cousins, or at least connections, for Winna was a relative of King Ina. But there is no need to seek for earthly ties to show how the orphan girl would find the convent a home; Christianity makes new fathers and mothers and friends and relatives to all its destitute children, and the Church is a home into which those who flee find a refuge for ever. There, as in some charmed palace of enchantment, the storms which rage in the world without, and scatter its unhappy children like driven leaves, blow no more, the rain and the sharp sleet of earthly sorrowing and care descend no more, and they repose in the arms of an everlasting embrace from which they shall never be torn.

St. Walburga stayed at Wimburn amongst these royal and saintly Saxon maidens for many peaceful years. Here she was instructed in the learning of those days, which consisted chiefly of knowledge

of the Latin language, the speech of the Church through all the world, in which she afterwards wrote the lives of her brothers, and of the ladies' work of those days, spinning and weaving clothes and vestments, which then were simple and without embroidery; in such tasks she was a laborious work-woman. But the chief employment of the sisterhood was singing praise to God and prayer. Religion was the object of education, not mere knowledge independent of it; and purity and innocence of heart were the ornaments with which they sought to be adorned. To this heavenly school St. Walburga brought a gracious disposition. The temper she inherited from her Saxon father was that of a free and noble maiden, with a full and affectionate heart overflowing with all sympathy and kindness, and bright and sunny like clear waters of a running stream. Such characters need to be taken out of the world, lest it spoil them: they excite a trembling interest while exposed to it, for fear that its rough breath touch them while they seem like a floating bubble, quivering and expanding, and ready every moment to burst and melt away. They have their peculiar dangers; they meet with much indulgence, and they are apt to become fond of it; they are unconscious of evil, and therefore likely to fall into it unawares. Their goodness of heart has prevented their needing much control; and hence they are apt to become wilful; and not being accustomed to reproof, they become impatient of rebuke, and are afflicted at the little crosses and disappointments of life. She brought also with her the bold and ready temper which

characterised her brother Willibald, and which often accompanies women, and those who are inexperienced in evil; such persons are forward to encounter peril, when the more circumspect draw back; like St. Thomas when he cried, "Let us also go, that we may die with Him."

A convent life supplied all the requisites for the judicious management of such a character, and giving it strength and consistency. The regularity it enjoins, the privations it puts upon the self-indulgent, and continual superintendence, are means calculated to bring about the patient resignation and habitual self-control which is needed to form a well-regulated mind. She continued subject to its discipline twenty-eight years, like a prolonged happy childhood, until she was called forth to new duties in a distant land. This long schooling was preparing her for missionary labours. "Grown people," says the great philosopher, "ought to be schooled." It is a mistake to think that our education is completed when we have come to a stated period of life; the bands of discipline draw tighter round us as we advance in years, and moral schooling can never cease until the will is subdued. So false is the modern theory, which would burst the bands in sunder before a single passion has been curbed, and proposes as a serious problem, "how soon it would be advantageous for the youthful mind to cast away the trammels of teaching and control, and launch forth on its own judgment, and with unshackled will to seek for truth, and become free."

Her father died at Lucca before the first year of

his pilgrimage was over. Her brother Willibald went on to Palestine, and, after wandering seven years, came back to Italy, and stayed at the monastery of Monte Casino, but never returned to England. Winibald came back again, after a lapse of years, to visit his home. He was of a feeble and sickly constitution, and could not accompany his brother to the Holy Land, so he stayed at Rome: perhaps it was partly to breathe again the fresh air of England that he came home. It was natural that Walburga should become most attached to him, because she had seen most of him; he alone of that beloved company whom she could remember leaving her behind in childhood had returned again, and his sickliness made him more dear to her; and thus, through after-life, while she admired her brother Willibald, she clung with affectionate fondness to Winibald.

Their uncle Winfrid was meanwhile engaged in his great work of evangelising Germany. He found no companions in labour suit him so well as his Anglo-Saxon countrymen; and many of these flocked to him, stirred by the fame of the great things he was doing, like soldiers who gather to the standard of some great adventurous general. In those days men felt a deep thrilling interest, a sublime romance, in going out to rescue from the captivity of Satan a nation that sat under his dark control, because then the reality of their deliverance into light out of darkness was a thing more vividly felt; the effects of holiness and faith were more visible, and by consequence the effects of unholiness and unbelief more deplorably evident. In

order to be interested in religion men must really understand what a deliverance it is, and that to recover captives out of the great enemy's hand is a more glorious and heart-stirring crusade than was ever undertaken against infidels or Saracens to recover the Holy Land. Illuminated men feel the privileges of Christianity, and to them the evil influence of Satanic power is horribly discernible, like the Egyptian darkness which could be felt; and the only way to express their keen perception of it is to say, that they see upon the countenances of the slaves of sin, the marks, and lineaments, and stamp of the evil one; and they smell with their nostrils the horrible fumes that arise from their vices and uncleansed heart, driving good angels from them in dismay, and attracting and delighting devils. It is said of the holy Sturme, a disciple and companion of Winfrid,[1] that in passing a horde of unconverted Germans as they were bathing and gambolling in a stream, he was so overpowered by the intolerable scent which arose from them, that he nearly fainted away. And no doubt such preternatural discernments are sometimes given to saints, that men may understand how exceedingly offensive a sinful man is in God's sight. Men with their eyes thus opened, understood the inexpressible gift and value of Holy Baptism. They looked upon it as like the "milk-white root" that Ulysses bore in hand by the gift of heavenly Mercury to the cave of the sorceress Circe, and was himself shielded from the arts of hell, and restored from

[1] Vit. S. Sturmii, ap. Mabillon. an. 779.

the shapes of filthy swine, his enchanted companions.

The great Winfrid, or Boniface, kept up correspondence with England; he wrote to the Primate, giving accounts of his proceedings, and he wrote to the good Bishop Daniel of Winchester, his friend and instructor, and received advice from him as to the best means of converting the heathen. He now wrote to the Abbess Tetta, to send him some of her maidens to establish convents in Germany. Winibald had gone to him after his visit home, and no doubt had told him much of the holy sisters of Wimburn and their life of sanctity. It was then well understood that, in order to influence minds of men, not things but persons are required: it is personal character and holiness that alone is able to bend the wills and draw after it the affections of others. After such, men throng and follow, like superior beings descended upon earth; for it is stronger and higher characters that always influence the weaker, and give a tone to the age and people among whom they live. This is true as well of bold and daring spirits who influence mankind for evil; but there is this vast difference, good men attract others by admiration of superior goodness, bad men by the admiration of superior power. For this reason St. Boniface wished to have as many as he could of his countrymen and countrywomen, as being well instructed in the ways of religion; for England was then "the Isle of Saints." These he made a nucleus of ecclesiastical bodies through the newly converted and imperfectly taught heathen land; these penetrated into the wildernesses

and fastnesses of the forests, everywhere establishing central bodies, round which whatever was good might gather, and ramify again; the churches of these little colleges of monks were called "minsters," or monasteries, and hence the term which is properly applied to central churches of districts having collegiate bodies attached to them.

The letters of St. Boniface came to Wimburn in the year 748, requesting by name Walburga, as well as Thecla and Lioba, to come to him and her brother in Germany. Walburga, on hearing the message, went to her oratory to pray. She was filled with emotion at the thought of leaving the peaceful Wimburn in which she had lived since her childhood nearly thirty years. Affectionate persons cling to places and people they have been used to, and a home they have loved, like a limpet to its accustomed rock; it is like parting with life to be taken away: but again, she would go to meet her brothers, and especially the meek and sickly Winibald; and the request came from her uncle, so much honoured and revered, that it would seem a crime not to comply with his desire. However, she simply prayed that the Divine will might be done concerning her, not that her own will either to stay or go should be done. And she received an answer to her prayers, for God revealed to her that all had happened by appointment, and that she must not doubt to accept the invitation. Upon this she joyously and readily made preparations for departure. The convent, which was very large, had means for supplying the expenses of the travel. Part of the lands and wealth of Walburga's

father had been no doubt given to it when he left his principality; and King Ina's endowments of Abingdon and Glastonbury show that he would not be less generous to the abbey in which his sisters lived retired from the world. Thirty companions undertook to accompany her, a number which seems large for a convent to send away, but there were five hundred maids at Wimburn. Perhaps among these, and it is probable it was so, were Lioba and Thecla; and if so, the parting from Wimburn must have been made much easier to Walburga; for she took away with her the greatest treasure of the convent in these once her cousins, now her dear sisters. Lioba especially, from her sweetness of temper and perpetual joyousness, would be to her a delightful companion.

Having bid farewell to happy Wimburn, they set sail from England in a ship which had been procured. It sounds now like the act of very adventurous maidens to set forth thus in travel to a land far away; but the thing was then so usual that it would hardly have excited remark; and in Christian land, and not long before the days of Charlemagne, they would meet everywhere with chivalrous attention and respect. It is not, however, to be denied that, owing to the great number of young persons who then streamed abroad from England in pilgrimages to Italy and elsewhere, as was to be expected in impulses which carry great multitudes, grievous scandals did occur. At first their voyage was calm; but when they got out to sea, a storm arose. The distress of these simple maids, who had lived so long in entire repose, may be well

imagined. The sinking of the heart as the long interminable swell of the sea rises and falls; the roll and shiver of the vessel as it swims giddily over each successive wave and down again with a drunken reel into the deep trough which seems to swallow it; the distracted look of the tossing yards and flapping sails and ropes, which whistle to the wind like a madman's streaming hair; the hungry look of the pitiless waters as they fling themselves up with the greedy spring of a lion at his prey: these to the inexperienced landsman form a scene and give sensations of misery and despair that overwhelm and overpower all energy of body and mind. The violence of the tempest increased, until the sailors themselves thought all was lost, and began to throw overboard the tackling to lighten the vessel. But no created thing can shake the confidence of the soul that has faith in God the maker of them all, and the floods cannot drown love. Walburga prayed to God her Saviour, and rising from prayer full of holy power, bade the elements be still. The winds and waters heard the voice of God speaking in His servant, and obeyed, and there succeeded a miraculous calm, as if the peace and gentleness that dwelt in her bosom had spread itself like oil over the sea. Shortly they came to land, and put into port overjoyed, giving thanks to God, and regarding Walburga with veneration.

She and her companions travelled on to Germany, where they arrived without further adventure; though it took them long time, and without doubt to such tender wanderers cost vast fatigue. They found the Archbishop Boniface, and his suffragan

bishop Willibald, Walburga's brother, at Mayence. These received her with much joy, and listened with pleasure to the narrative, how Divine revelation had confirmed their call to her to leave Wimburn, and come abroad to them, and how Providence had protected them safe through the dangers of the way.

Her brother Winibald, she was told, was in Thuringia, with seven churches, or rather seven monastic houses, under his superintendence. To him she desired to go, and establish her convent near him, and under his rule. It was then common for separate bodies of monks and nuns to be under one head. There were monks at Wimburn, besides her maidens, under the Abbess Tetta. The Benedictine rule was at that time very universally followed; and St. Boniface, Willibald, and Winibald were all Benedictines.[1] Having obtained leave, she went to Winibald, and was received by him, and settled for a time in a convent beside him there. Thecla and Lioba were sent to other parts of Germany, then called Allemaine, to be abbesses, and establish separate sisterhoods.

It strikes us with astonishment to contemplate the vast ecclesiastical force, as it may be called, which was in this manner brought into play. The whole country was thrown under an organised system, which was perpetually diverging, like rays of light, further and further into the recesses of the land, yet centralised in abbots and bishops of districts, and finally in the vigorous archbishop himself at Mayence, who had planned the scheme

[1] For the controversy on this subject, vid. Alban Butler on March 21, Life of St. Benedict.

and brought it to bear. The state of the people demanded energetic exertions. Christianity had spread rapidly among them, and therefore imperfectly. The vast idea cannot be caught in a moment, and requires, like some great shadow or outline, teaching and development to realise it to individuals; the eye which has been accustomed to prison darkness must be allowed gradually and slowly to dilate, before it can bear the day and distinguish objects. Much therefore was to be supplied or corrected, and there were great chasms to be filled. The wild superstitions of that imaginative people clung still to them, which had grown up into a thousand fanciful shapes, engendered among the deep and gloomy forests with which the land from ancient times had been overspread. Besides all this, there were grievous heresies to be combated, which had already sprung up, in which the German brain has since been so fruitful.

The Abbot Winibald, by exhortation and rebuke and unwearied patience, had brought his district of seven churches into a great state of order, from which they long after benefited. He also made visits into further parts, and Bavaria, notwithstanding the feebleness of his sickly frame; he continually came to Mayence to consult with Boniface and his brother Willibald, bishop of Aichstadt, and was often obliged to spend much time there.

But this life did not suit Winibald; he was past fifty, and his body enfeebled by long infirmity, and he longed for greater retirement; he was naturally studious and contemplative, and his con-

versation with his uncle and brother turned much on the mysteries of religion. A hermit's cell and life were the things for which he longed; his diet was already hermit's fare, for he ate but little from his infirmity, and drank no wine except for medicine. He wished therefore to flee away from the rich wine country bordering the Rhine, in which his monks were exposed to dangers from an easy and luxurious life, and seek some spot more inland, where they might live more like anchorites and have greater need of manual labour for their support. Full of these desires, he went for advice to Willibald his brother at his "mynster" of Aichstadt. This was situated, as the name signifies, amongst the forests of oak that grow around the feeders of the Danube. By the advice of his brother he purchased a spot that lay retired among the hills for the site of his future monastery.

This place of retreat was called "Heidenheim," perhaps from its secrecy, and afterwards retained the name; it was a deep vale among lofty mountains in the wilds of Sualaveldia, or Suevia, watered by gushing mountain streams, and at that time densely covered with forest trees, which stood in their primæval and untouched magnificence: the sight of this solitary and majestic scene struck a note which responded to the chords which were ringing in the heart of the contemplative Winibald. He was one of those who bear ever in their thoughts the notes of the "everlasting chime," which to those who have ears to hear falls in unison with the calm melancholy sound of hidden waters running in steep places, and the winds sweeping over the heads of

the great forest trees and the bristling sides of the mountains; they realise the magic tale of the huge Æolian harp which hung from tower to tower, catching on its strings every sweet and solemn sound that wakes at the passing feet of the wandering wind. It is natural for such souls to seek for solitude, that, like the nightingale, they may sing alone.

"Here," he exclaimed, "shall be the place of my rest!" and indeed it was destined to be the place of his everlasting repose; for he had sought it, as the stricken deer seeks the thicket, to die there. Here he brought his sister Walburga, and built a church and double monastery for his monks and nuns. This was done about the year 752. Immediately they began to clear a space in the wood for cultivation; and Winibald laboured himself with axe in hand with his younger monks, like Elisha in the days of old; and toiled at cutting away underwood, and breaking up the waste uncultivated ground. The work itself was great, and they were hindered besides by the opposition of the natives, who, though the place was purchased, probably looked with a jealous eye upon these improvements introduced into their ancient hunting grounds, and considered the old oak-trees of the silent vale the hallowed haunt of elves and fairies, and looked upon their cutting down as a desecration. Time elapsed, and the monks and nuns of Heidenheim became settled, the natives became reconciled, and converts received into the monastery, which swelled in numbers; the face of the country improved by the arts of

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cultivation which were learned from the monks' example and assistance, and the neighbouring barons gave of their lands freely to its support; and the abbot and abbess were heads of a flourishing society, in what had been a wilderness.

Meanwhile Winibald's health daily declined, until at length he was unable to move from his bed and chamber which was made for him into a little chapel, and fitted with an altar, on which every day that he was able he celebrated mass, until his quiet and gentle spirit parted happily in the year 761, eight or nine years since he had come to the retreat of Heidenheim. Willibald his brother came and buried him there.

Walburga mourned deeply the loss of her brother. He had been all in all to her; and her affectionate heart had found in him an object in which all the feelings which ties of kindred awaken had centred. He had been to her the pledge of the family from which she had so early parted. His long sickness had still more endeared him to her, and his musing melancholy turn of mind, like a strain of solemn music, awakened all her tenderness. Her grief was a constant inward mourning, like what poets call the dove's for her mate; and thus his death transfused, as it were, into her mind that deep sorrow which perhaps is necessary to be mingled with joyousness to complete the training of the human soul for future happiness. Milton errs when he sets the two at war; in truth they harmonise; the ecstasies of joy and melancholy unite as it were at their confines. She had spent a long life in unbroken smiles, and now she learned to steep her

mind in tears. The rue and the thyme do not give their scent so well, until they are bruised.

Her dying brother commended to her care, not only the maidens, but the monks of Heidenheim. So that, like the holy Tetta at Wimburn, she was now abbess and mother of both. Thus her duties and cares increased with her sorrows, and these she fulfilled with all the kindness and watchfulness of a mother, except perhaps, that from her great gentleness and meekness, she brought herself sometimes into neglect from those about her, and, as we may believe of the holy Paul, into contempt. "One evening," says her history, "after vespers were over, she stayed alone to pray in the church of the monastery which her brother had built, and remained there until it was late, and the darkness closed in. She rose from her prayers to return to her cell, and asked the sexton of the church, whose name was Goumerand, to light her to it. The churlish monk refused." (Perhaps he was tired with waiting for her so long to finish her prayers, and was of a sour disagreeable temper.) "The abbess meekly retired to her cell without a light, patiently taking the affront, and the time of the evening meal having passed, remained there without having supped. In the night the sisters were roused by a bright supernatural light streaming from Walburga's cell, and lighting up all their chambers. Startled and terrified, they watched the illumination, which continued until the stroke of the bell for matins, when they gathered to the chamber of the holy Walburga, and with wonder and fear told her what they had seen. She bursting

into tears, "thanked God for the heavenly visitation which had been vouchsafed to her, and ascribed it solely to the prayers and merits of her brother Winibald, through whom she said the contempt put on her had thus been turned to honour."

Another incident which is thus related, shows Walburga's great meekness and humility, and the miraculous gifts with which she was endowed; the former of which was so great in her, that indeed, according to the judgment of St. Paul, it is more excellent, and more to be wondered at than the latter. "Late of an evening, while she yet mourned for her brother Winibald, she went out unattended and unobserved from the convent, moved by Divine impulse. She wandered to some distance to the house of a neighbouring baron, whose daughter lay dying. There she stood at the door, appearing like a wandering beggar, not venturing through meekness to pass within or present herself. The baron was a huntsman of the forest, and his wolf-hounds," which had probably been kept from the chase, "hungry and fierce, gathered round the door of the hall about Walburga. Seeing her standing there, and in danger as he supposed of being torn down by them, the rough huntsman asked angrily who she was, and what she wanted there. The abbess replied, 'that he need not fear; the dogs would not touch Walburga; that He who had brought her safe there, would take her again safe home; and that from Him she was come to be a physician to his house, if he had faith to believe in Him the Great Physician.' The baron, on hearing her name, started hastily from his seat in the hall, and,

asking why so noble a lady and a servant of God stood without his door, prayed her to enter, and led her in with much respect. She said she was not come without a cause; and having been waited on with great attention, at the time for retiring to rest she said she would pass the night in his daughter's chamber. Thither she was led; the girl lay expiring, the death-chill was already upon her, and she was sobbing convulsively in the last struggle. The father groaned and burst into tears; the heart-broken mother hung over her child in agony; and the domestics prepared to make mourning. Walburga knelt and prayed, and continued all night in prayer, and God restored the soul of the maiden, and in the morning she arose in perfect health. The parents, full of gratitude, and astonished at the miracle, tremblingly offered her rich presents, but she refusing them, returned on foot to the monastery. The more that she received these signs of heavenly favour, so much the more she humiliated and dealt hardly with herself."

Little more remains to be told of her life. She lived sixteen years after the death of Winibald, and wrote his life, as well as an account of her brother Willibald's travels in Palestine, which she wrote down from his own mouth at Heidenheim. It is disputed whether these are really her compositions, or the work of one of her nuns: but there is internal evidence to show that the writing is hers; and a comparison of the style with the life of St. Boniface, written by Willibald, will give strong evidence that they are the productions of a brother and sister: for though from different hands, they bear strong

resemblances to each other in the turn of thought and expressions, which may be especially marked in the prefaces. The Latin of these pieces, though it would excite the classical critic's smile, yet has its own beauties; it is very expressive of feeling, and quaint and simple in descriptions; the words, so to speak, seem to try to imitate things. They would give no mean idea of her education, or of the education of those days; in fact there is evidence that some of her companions at Wimburn were very learned and accomplished women. Latterly Walburga laboured much with her distaff, and at such tasks as spinning and weaving she has been said already to have been a great workwoman. Her chief characteristic in her declining years was the maternal kindness and tender-heartedness into which sorrow and time tempered her formerly buoyant and happy mind, so that in some points of character she has been compared with the blessed Mary. At length, to the great grief of the sisterhood and all her children in the Faith, over whom she had exercised such gentle rule, the holy abbess died, about the year 776. Her brother Willibald came to Heidenheim, and took her sacred body and laid it by the side of her much-loved brother Winibald.

About sixty years afterwards, when Otgar, the sixth in succession, was Bishop of Aichstadt, the monastery of Heidenheim was in a decayed and neglected condition, and while some repairs were going on, the tomb of St. Walburga was trodden on and desecrated by the work-people. In the night the saint appeared in a vision to Otgar, and asked

him why he had dishonoured the sepulchre in which her body lay, expecting the Day of the Resurrection? "Be assured," said the vision, "that you shall have a sign that you have not dealt well with me, nor with the house of God." In the morning a monk named Renifred came hastily from Heidenheim, bringing news that the whole northern wall of the building, which was next day to have been roofed in, had fallen with a crash, in the middle of the night, flat to the ground. The bishop, seeing the threat of the vision completed, called his clergy together, visited and repaired the church, anointed it afresh with holy chrism, as having been desecrated, and after a time he went thither in solemn procession, with ringing of bells and chantings, accompanied by the Archpriest Wilton, and Archpriest Adeling, and Omman, and Liubula, the abbess of the neighbouring convent of Monheim, and opening the grave with the chant of joy, raised the sacred relics, and carried them with tears of gladness to Aichstadt. Erchanbold, seventh in succession, succeeded Otgar. In his time, Liubula, the Abbess of Monheim mentioned above, besought a portion of the relics of Walburga, consigning, on that condition, her abbey to the bishops of Aichstadt. Accordingly, the tomb in which they had been laid by Otgar was opened, and the bones were found pure and clean, and moistened with a holy oil or dew which no impurity would touch or soil. The priests, lifting a portion with all reverence, carried it on a bier in holy procession to Monheim. As they approached to a town called Mulheim, which had been a residence of St. Boni-

face, an epileptic boy met the bier, and it was laid on him, and he recovered. "Immediately," says Wülfhard of Aichstadt, "there gushed forth in the same place a smell so great and marvellous sweet that the senses of those who preceded, and those who followed, and of those who bore the bier, could hardly endure to bear it." And other miracles ensued. Amongst these was the cure of the Abbess Liubula, or, as it would now be pronounced, "Lovely." She was sleeping out of the monastery for three nights (according to the law of Suevia, which required this form in consigning property away, of which she was making over the rights to the Bishop of Aichstadt), being ill of the gout in the feet, when, as she slept, an ancient cleric, with snowy hair, seemed to say to her, "Liubula, why sleep you? rise and go to the church." She answered, "Why shall I go to church, when the matin bell has not yet sounded? nor can I go myself, except they come and carry me." "Arise quickly," he replied, "and go, for St. Willibald is come to see how you have laid his sister, along with a host of the heavenly company." Immediately she rose, and went quickly to the church, which she entered perfectly restored, and gave thanks to God and the holy virgin Walburga. She is said to have been canonised by Pope Adrian II., about the year 870, after the translation by Otgar to Aichstadt, and her name received into the catalogue of saints.

A vast number of other cures are recorded before the close of the same century, and the shrine of St. Walburga became famous through all that country,

and pilgrimages were made frequently to it. Special cures seem to have been wrought on those who had fallen into disease through an easy, self-indulgent course of life, into which the good-hearted merriment of Germans and English is apt to be degraded, and mercies shown to careless, thoughtless, childish people, such as have the particular faults of a joyous and happy disposition. Over these Walburga herself had gained the victory; an innocent cheerfulness of temper, which thinks no evil, and has known little of it, is apt unconsciously to slide into great and even dangerous excesses, though such recover more quickly from them, as it were, without effort, because of their natural goodness of heart. The dangers of such a temper are like those that beset the path of the wandering fawn among the hills, when the mists veil the precipices along whose brink it is skipping, and the evening wolf is near within the thicket.* They need to be awakened to perils that surround them, and to be cured of their silly wilfulness.

A lively healthy person, of the name of Irchinbald, who had passed his life joyously, and was therefore probably in danger of becoming a sot or a glutton, was seized with such a loathing for all food, that for upwards of half a year he could swallow no nourishment except a little vegetable and yolk of egg with difficulty. When reduced from his former healthy and full habit to the last state of debility, his pulse scarcely beating, and skin scarcely covering his bones, he fell into a gentle sleep, and heard a voice bid him "go to Monheim, and ask there to drink of the consecrated wine that three

nuns by the altar would give him, and he should recover through the prayers of Walburga." He obeyed, and found it as he was told, and as soon as he had drunk his appetite returned, his stomach no longer refused food, and he asked for bread, and ate. It is no sin to supply the natural appetite; but if a harmless desire is not watched, it easily runs out into some acquired unhealthy habit, which, like some foul excrescence, distorts and disfigures the soul. The fisherman in the Arabian tale let loose a little fume from a vessel he had drawn from the sea, but it grew and grew until the smoke filled the sky, and gathered into the form of a gigantic and terrible genie.

A maid-servant of a family named Frideride, who was a very good and obedient servant, and beloved by her master and mistress, was seized with craving appetite which nothing could satisfy. She increased in size until she became a burden to herself, and became gouty or dropsical in the feet. Being very miserable she consulted with her friends, and petitioned her mistress that she might be allowed to visit St. Walburga's shrine. Permission being gladly given, she went, and her feet were cured, but the craving appetite continued until having confessed herself to Sister Theodilda, and bewailed with much shame and abhorrence her unnatural longing and gluttony, by her advice she received from Father Raimund some consecrated bread; after eating this she felt a loathing for food, which so continued, that for six weeks she received no food except the blessed Sacrament, her stomach rejecting all other food. Sister Theodilda, seeing

her reduced to excessive thinness and weakness, begged her with much earnestness and reproof to drink some beer which she brought her; she complied, though unwilling, but it gushed immediately from her mouth and nostrils, and afterwards they pressed her no more; she continued to exist, a miracle, with scarcely any nourishment for three years, always blessing the holy maid Walburga, who had freed her from her loathsome obesity and longing: thus it is that the heavenly manna, suiting all tastes, can overcome all desire of earthly food.

In like manner a story was told, and believed, of a little girl whose chief fault was over-fondness for play; how that whilst gaily amusing herself with a ball near the monastery, to her great affliction when she caught it from her companions she found it to stick to her hand as if glued. She ran in grief to pray at the shrine, and was freed from her fright by the ball loosening and coming away.

The same reproof was thrice repeated to a woman who continued her spinning on festival days — the distaff clung to her hand; at last being frightened out of her wilfulness she was freed from her punishment, and cured of her disobedience at Walburga's tomb.

A person who came into the church to pray, thoughtlessly and irreverently kept his rough gauntlets or gloves upon his hands as he joined them in posture of prayer, and he felt them suddenly stript off him and gone; he was much terrified and ashamed of his negligence, and afterwards as he recounted what had happened to him they

appeared lying before him, restored by a miracle. All these have the character of a gentle mother correcting the idleness and faults of careless and thoughtless children with tenderness.

But the most remarkable and lasting miracle attesting the holy Walburga's sanctity, to which allusion has already been made, is that which reckons her among the saints who are called "Elæophori" or "unguentiferous," becoming almost in a literal sense olive-trees in the courts of God. These are they from whose bones a holy oil or dew distils. That oil of charity and gentle mercy which graced them while alive, and fed in them the flame of universal love in their death, still permeates their bodily remains. Such are said to have been holy Nicholas, Bishop of Myra; Demetrius, Martyr of Thessalonica; John, by surname the Merciful; Lawrence the Martyr; Andrew the Apostle; and Matthew the blessed Evangelist. These all were distinguished by the attribute of mercy; they were men of Mercy, of whom it is said that "they are blessed"; and from their bowels flowed rivers of oil, fed by those dews which fall upon the head, and run down to the beard and skirts of the clothing, the dew of Hermon which falls upon the head of those who love the brethren.

Of this tender mercy Walburga's heart was full, even to overflowing, while she lived; and in death, like a healing stream of compassion for mankind's infirmities, it trickled from her bones. It has been already said, that when her remains were translated from Heidenheim they were beheld moist with dew and odoriferous. They were laid in an altar-

tomb of marble stone at Aichstadt, and from it, year by year, at certain seasons, a fontanel distilled, flowing more freely at the time of the blessed sacrifice, which, drop by drop, fell into a silver shell placed to receive it. "You may see," says the account, "the drops sometimes larger, sometimes less, like a hazel nut, or of the size of a pea, dropping into the silver bowl from beneath the stone-slab on which they hang. If the oil when carried away any whither is handled irreverently or in any way disrespectfully treated, it evaporates away; it is therefore kept with great reverence, and stored in a holy place. If the vessel placed to receive it is not placed under directly, so as to catch it when it falls, the oil hangs in clustered drops, as if in a bunch, like hanging grapes, or honey in a comb, and refuses to run; nor will it fall into the phial except it be perfectly clean. When the state of Aichstadt" (says Philip the Bishop) "lay under an interdict the sacred fount ceased. This sentence was passed on account of heavy wrongs done to the bishops by the neighbouring barons and estates. It was stayed until the Church regained its rights; and then the bishop, barefoot, and without his full robes, having proclaimed a fast, went up to the church, and with all the people prayed the city might not be deprived of such a benefit: and upon the celebration of the mass the oil flowed abundantly. According to the same author, it was customary twice in the year, on St. Mark's day and on the Feast of the Translation of St. Walburga, for the priests and clergy in procession, after the office, to taste of the holy oil

as a remedy for soul and body; he himself attests to having received a bodily cure from it. Many others are recorded, one an interesting one of later times, when a citizen of Aichstadt, named Müller, recovered by use of it his eyesight, which was nearly gone: he too was a merciful man, for knowing himself the loss, he pitied much the blind, and commanded his wife and children that no blind person be ever suffered to leave his door without an alms."

The same flow of oil or dew is related of the blessed Catharine, of St. Elizabeth Landgravine of Hesse, of St. Euphemia of Byzantium, of St. Agnes of Tuscany, women whose souls, like that of Walburga, were touched with true compassion; whose bosom, like hers, melted by divine love, was filled with the milk of human kindness, and was full of sympathy with men afflicted: for such is the effect of heavenly grace, that whereas the heart of man is naturally hard and dry, like the parched and stony rock of the arid wilderness, selfish in extreme, and refusing to succour others in their distress and weariness; yet, when it is touched by the wand of Moses, that is, by the spear which opened the second Adam's side, a rill of mercy flows forth in tenderness and love, and henceforth it feels as its own all the sorrows of mankind, and while joying with those that joy, it weeps with those that weep.

LIFE OF

ST. WINIBALD

ABBOT, DIED 761

THE second son of King Richard the Saxon and Winna his wife was named Winibald. When his brother Willibald was sent to the monastery of Waltham to be made a monk, he was left to be educated at home, and continued in his father's house until the age of nineteen. It is remarkable in these two brothers that Willibald began life in monastic retirement, but ended it in the vigorous discharge of active duties; Winibald, on the contrary, began life in the freedom of a prince, but ended it a monk, and almost a hermit. Willibald learned his Psalter when a child of five; Winibald learned his when a man of twenty. The principles of religion sank deep into the mind of the former at an early age, and developed themselves afterwards into a life and character of active energy. The mind of the latter fixed itself upon the contemplation of these principles themselves, and seemed to find its end in searching them out and dwelling upon them; a difference likely to follow from the one coming to religion a child, the other a grown

man; for thus it steals upon the first before the intellect is aware; to the second the knowledge itself, which is not already made one with the mind, becomes an object of pursuit. Thus the peculiar character of St. Winibald as a religious man seems to be a thirst after knowledge, and a desire to dwell upon the deep things of Divine love, as the hart pants after the stream.

A sickly constitution contributed much to form this turn of mind. His brother was sickly as a child, but robust in manhood; Winibald, from the time of the fever with which he and his brother were both seized in Rome, seems never to have been strong, and died at the age of sixty bedridden and quite infirm.

His separate history begins when his brother left him at Rome to go to Palestine. His health probably prevented him from being one of the pilgrims to the Holy Land; and he stayed at Rome while his brother and fellow-pilgrims went away. There he first received the tonsure, and during his illness he had learned the Psalter by heart, and given himself up to the study of Scripture, in which he became deeply versed, and excited the admiration of his companions by his learning. Already hospitia or houses of refuge for pilgrims from England had been established in Rome, and he was probably received into one of these, together with the remainder of the followers of the two princes from England. It may be argued from the eagerness with which he now plunged into the study of Divine things, that he had not been so devoutly disposed in his earlier years, until the call of his brother to leave

an earthly kingdom, and the death of his sainted father at Lucca, and his sickness at Rome, had awakened a deeper sense of religion.

Seven years passed away, and at the end of that time he wished to visit England again. His chief reason for doing so was to preach a pilgrimage among his friends and relations at home, and exhort them to follow the course which he had found so effectual in his own case in weaning him from the world. Accordingly he departed for England, and about the very same time his brother must have returned from his long and perilous travel in the Holy Land. Perhaps St. Winibald, after so long an absence, despaired of his return, or perhaps he carried back to England an account of his safe arrival at Monte Casino; but he does not appear to have seen him.

He was received with great joy by his friends at home, and went from house to house, and town to town, preaching a pilgrimage to Rome; and again a considerable number resolved to leave their homes, and accompany him back again thither. Among these was a younger brother, probably a half-brother to him, and own brother of Walburga, then a nun at Wimburn, whom no doubt he went and saw, but she did not accompany him abroad at this time.

Thus again a number of Anglo-Saxon wanderers adventured forth to a foreign clime, seeking St. Peter's shrine. It will be said, by way of blame and ridicule, that men in those days were very fond of roving, and that if they wanted to be very religious, they might have found enough to do at

home. Precise people will never look rightly at the principle which, when England was merry England, made men's hearts love the forest glade better than the crowded town, and the skylark's note better than the cries of the throng; which made men love to recount tales of King Arthur's chivalry and wild Robin Hood, and think of liberty and freedom, not with the licentious longing of a modern freethinker, but with the generous romance of a loyal and a loving heart. The days of free foresters and knightly adventures are not only past and gone, but long have been, in all respects, condemned and frowned down in scorn by the mighty potentate, the world's opinion. Yet the Englishman's heart ought still to acknowledge the solemn religious feeling from which sprang the idea of the "Search for the Holy Sangreall," and the rude, yet honest, love of justice exhibited in the tales of "Forest Days." Something akin to these, though in a truer and higher sense, was the love of religious liberty; by which was then meant, not a disloyal desertion of the Articles of Christian Faith, but a desertion of the world with its traffic and all its ties.

Gladly, therefore, St. Winibald and his second troop of followers turned their steps to the then acknowledged centre of Christian unity and the basilica of the holy Peter; and there again, for a time, he remained buried in study and the retirement of a monastery.

After a lapse of time, St. Boniface, his mother's brother, came to Rome on his third visit there. He was then attracting the eyes of all Christendom by his wonderful conversions in Germany, and

was honourably received by Pope Gregory. Many people crowded to see and hear him, and especially, as was natural, his own English countrymen. Thus he heard that his nephew Winibald was in Rome, and he sent for him to see and speak with him; and after conversation drew from him a promise to come and join himself to him in his labours in Germany. At the same time St. Boniface requested Pope Gregory to send him his other nephew Willibald, who, as he heard, after his return from the Holy Land, was a monk at Monte Casino. The Apostle of Germany then returned to his labours.

Shortly after this, St. Winibald, according to his promise, prepared to follow him. Accordingly, with the consent of his fellow-countrymen who chose to stay, and accompanied by a number who were willing to go with him, he took his journey through Lombardy, then peacefully disposed, and over the Alps through Bavaria to Thuringia, and finally presented himself before the Archbishop Boniface, who received him with much honour. "They discoursed much together," says the old narrative, "in holy and wholesome conversations, and from the volumes of God's Holy Writ searched out the hidden mysteries which they contain." Such meditations always seem to have been uppermost in Winibald's thoughts.

He was now consecrated priest, receiving his orders from the hands of St. Boniface. His age was probably between thirty-eight and forty when he was admitted to priest's orders. Seven churches were committed to his care in the newly converted

Thuringia. These he was to instruct more fully in the knowledge of Christianity. From his deep knowledge of Scripture, St. Winibald was well fitted for preaching and explaining. His daily meditations had brought before him the chief prophecies and their expositions, and our Lord's life as given in the Gospels was every day in his memory and on his tongue, for on this he continually dwelt and preached; and thus he became, as it were, a "living Bible" to his people, together with a commentary, far more effectually so in propagating the faith when books were few or none than many books in times when they are abundant.

His churches thus became fully instructed in the faith, and Odilo, Duke of Bavaria, hearing of the fame of his preaching, sent to beg that he would come and visit him, and extend the benefit of his teaching to his people. The saint complied, and was received with all the honours that became him by Duke Odilo, who, with princely liberality, bestowed upon him for Church purposes rich donations of money and lands. These means he used to bring the country into ecclesiastical order—no easy task, for all things had fallen into a sad state. The sacraments were neglected, the nobles had contracted unlawful marriages or lived in profligacy, and the common people, besides following their example, had fallen back into heathen superstitions. The preacher boldly rebuked the vices both of rich and poor alike, sparing none who deserved censure, and by his vigorous measures and fearless zeal effected a restoration of discipline. He spoke the truth to all, whether they would hear

or whether they would forbear, and in the words of the Gospel, "if the house was worthy his peace rested upon it; but if not worthy, his peace returned to him again."

After this he returned to the archbishop at Mayence, by whom he was welcomed and treated with great veneration and respect. Yet Boniface did not use him as a counsellor and adviser, or make him one of his bishops, as he did his brother Willibald. Willibald was more fitted to cope with the world. Winibald was wrapt in his contemplations, and his place was that of a father abbot among his monks. Accordingly, it was not long before he found fault with Mayence. As a place of residence it was too busy for him, and the abundance of Rhine wine made it a dangerous place for his monks. So he went to his brother Willibald at Aichstadt, and by his advice retired to the secluded valley of Heidenheim, on the sources of the Danube. He purchased a spot of ground for a monastery, and afterwards the people of the country endowed it with Church lands. Thither he retired with his sister Walburga, who had now joined her brothers in Germany. And thus, each by different circumstances, the three sainted children of St. Richard were all brought together again ; born in the same English home, divided from one another in different climes the greater part of their lives, and meeting together at last as missionaries in a wild German forest land.

It is a primitive picture which follows. St. Winibald, with his axe in hand, clearing away the forest brake, and plucking up the brambles and thistles

to form a garden around a small cluster of huts, the germ of the future monastery. After a while the church minster and abbey of Heidenheim arose amid the woodland scene, under the monks' laborious hands. And thus the saint was settled in such a place as his soul had desired. He was an abbot in a wild.

The forests which once clothed England with broad and stately oaks, rising from the brake of hawthorn or green holly, with the warm fern beneath, are either now no more or have only left remnants to show what they once have been. The pine-trees around the Danube and the Rhine no longer spread themselves to a vast extent, covering whole regions in untrodden solitudes. The woods of the new world remain to tell the wanderer what our old forests were, when he ventures to break into the stillness of their deep repose. There the profound silence declares the vast extent of the woodland. Every sound is heard — the distant running of the river and the strange voices of the woods, the notes of birds and the cries of wild creatures, some joyous and musical, others harsh and terrible, or plaintive and melancholy—all these are fitted to compose the mind to thoughtful meditation, but above all the ancient trees themselves, with their heavy nodding leaves and wrinkled bark, seamed with the course of many years, are so many preachers, and, like white-headed old men of former days, seem to say that an eternal repose of yesterday is gone before, and a morrow of eternal peace is yet to come. Men of narrow reasoning will smile at the supposition that the woods and wild animals

can fall into the scheme of theology, and preach to the heart the all-pervading principles of religion; but they forget that God's works have a unity of design throughout, and that the Author of nature and of revealed religion is one.

Yet meditative as he was, Winibald was not solely occupied in the contemplative life. The greatest preachers against the world's wickedness have been at the same time the most retired of men. Hermit-like, and gentle as he was, when evil principles were to be rebuked he girded himself like a warrior to the fight. The moral condition of the neighbouring inhabitants of the soil realised the melancholy analogies of the bears and wolves that roamed and ravined in the forests around. They lived in idolatry, in unlawful marriages and concubinage, and practised necromancy and used divination and devilish incantations. Against these evil practices the saint went forth, burning with zeal, like a knight to a crusade. He contradicted, rebuked, and punished, and however painful the separation might be, divorced those unlawfully married, pulling up and rooting out the moral evils around him as he had plucked up with his hands the briars and thistles of the wilderness. His conduct awakened the wild and savage wrath of the inhabitants, and many times they laid in wait to kill him, and plotted to burn his monastery. But wisdom and reason in the end prevailed over brute violence; their angry passion subsided, and the monastery increased in numbers, and was endowed with possessions, and he was revered as a pastor and a father. Thus years rolled on, and the holy man still continued

ever pondering on pages of holy writ, or reading and explaining, or singing praises and repeating psalms; whether he ate or drank, or whatever he did, while his body was mechanically engaged his mind still hovered around sacred meditations, like the bee at the flower-bell.

At length, when he now was fifty-seven years old, his bodily infirmities increased much upon him. His secret severities, "known," says the writer of his life, "only to God and to himself," doubtless assisted much to bring on this decay; but, from the time of his sickness at Rome, he had always been afflicted with either paralysis of the limbs, or perhaps gout or rheumatism, and now for the last three years of his life he became a cripple. If he endeavoured to move from Heidenheim, he could only make small journeys, and these brought on a relapse. Once during this time he went into Franconia, to visit Megingozus, the Bishop of Wirzburg, successor of Burchard, and coming to the monastery of Fulda, fell so sick, that he lay for three weeks unable to move. His uncle, the great and holy Winfrid, had now finished his course, martyred in his old age, and his body lay at Fulda. Here St. Winibald thought he should die too; but at the end of three weeks recovered, and went on to another town, where again he had a relapse, and lay for another week, unable to proceed. At last he came to Wirzburg, and conversed with Megingozus, his uncle's friend. Having stayed three days, he returned to Heidenheim.

Weak and weary as his body was, his mind was strong within; and although he had found travel

so hard in his pilgrimage to Fulda and visit to Wirzburg, yet he resolved to make a longer one to St. Benedict, at Monte Casino, and end his days there. Immediately he sent a messenger thither, to ask the abbot and brotherhood for leave to come. They gladly sent answer that he would be welcome, and further prayed him to come. His desire, doubtless, was to pay a devout visit to the founder of the order before he died. His uncle was a Benedictine, as well as his brother and much-loved sister Walburga; and when he professed himself a monk at Rome, he no doubt became a Benedictine. Upon receiving the answer of his messenger, he prepared to go; but first he sent for his brother Willibald, from Aichstadt, and other friends, to tell his intention and ask their leave. When they came, and he told them his purpose, they all opposed his departure. They bade him consider his weakness and infirmities, and how utterly unfit he was for travel, and prayed him to remain in his own quiet retreat of Heidenheim, so suitable for an invalid, among his own monks and loving children in the faith, whom by his departure he would bereave of their abbot and father.

The good abbot complied, and laid aside his devoutly intended pilgrimage, which in his state was almost impracticable. Next to Christian magnanimity in death, how great is Christian magnanimity in disease! The poor feeble body, full of pain and weakness, forgets its incapacities and fleshly ills, when mighty principle carries the soul away. The triumph over sickness is a beautiful spectacle, to many men a harder trial than to

descend into the battle, and look death in the face. There is so much wearing and weariness of soul in long-protracted suffering; so much temptation to impatience in feebleness and incapacity; yet just as the Christian saint lies meekly down to die, like an infant to his slumber, free from all the terrors which the speech of the Danish prince in the tragedy pictures in a horrible dream, so it is amid his sick-bed sorrows; still the same calm repose attends him, and the same gentle patience; the brave spirit within is vigorous, and bears kindly up its weak and wasted companion.

And now the last scene of the servant of God drew nigh. He was unable to move from his cell; and since now he could not enter the church, he bade them bring and place an altar in the side of his cell, that thereon, when his sickness would allow, he might celebrate mass, a thing which, when his health permitted, he day by day had never ceased to do. What with constant sickness, and what with fast and vigil, his life had been a very martyrdom; and now perceiving that his end was approaching, and that God was about to take him from this valley of tears to the land of eternal recompense, he sent for his brother Willibald to come to him for the last time. When Willibald was come, which was on a Friday, in the year of our Lord 761, and when his friends and monks were gathered round him, among whom was his sister and affectionate nurse Walburga, Winibald, perceiving his death approaching, addressed them as they surrounded his bed:—

"Little children, and dear brothers, be wise in

time, and prudent. Make your lives and ways agreeable to the will of God. Love one another, and keep the true catholic faith always; continue to keep the duties of monastic life in all things as we have shown and taught you, and as you have promised to God to do. From the rule of life and vow of obedience which you have made to me, and by which while I lived I held you bound, I give you full absolution; but from the duties you owe to God, and the rule of life you have promised to Him to keep, I give you no absolution, nor is it in my power to free you from it; pay it duteously to God according as you are able. Take my indulgence for every word or deed in which by carelessness or forgetfulness you have failed in obedience to me; and in whatever, in word or deed, I have chanced to cross any of you, do you all forgive me: and so may you remain in God's peace, to whose keeping I leave you, and suffer me to go on my appointed way out of this life in peace and charity, for the time of my departure is at hand, and my soul is ready to go from the prison of the body to its recompense of reward and a rest from its labours, through the merciful goodness of God our tender Father, to which may He of His mercy grant that I may come!" With these sweet and peaceful words he bade his sorrowing friends and the mourning monks farewell; and then, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said, "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit;" and sitting as he was, raised up in the bed, he gave up his beatified spirit. This took place in the evening of the Saturday after St. Willibald came, and a week before

Christmas-day, in the year 761. Then they took his body and washed it, and carried it to the church; and there they continued beside it all night long, praising God with psalms, and chantings, and hymns, until the morning of Sunday; and then they laid him in a new stone coffin, and buried him in the church. The coffin had been hewn for many years before he died, and stood in his cell waiting for the day of his death. He himself gave prophetic warning of the day he should die, and had given all the directions how they should lay him clothed in his sacerdotal robes. He was sixty years of age: he came to Heidenheim in 751, and so had been abbot ten years.

The writer of St. Winibald's life transcribed it from the account which his sister wrote of him: and of what follows she declares herself to be a witness. She was one of the nuns of the convent adjoining the abbey of Heidenheim.

For seven days after he was buried, a priest, who was his friend and favourite disciple, said masses and sang chants perpetually, relieved by another priest, day by day through the week. One day, when one of them, very early in the morning, entered the church to say mass, upon opening the door a most sweet fragrant odour breathed on him, and the whole church was filled with a warm-scented breath like thick smoke. He was much astonished, and ran out to bring some one as witness of the miracle; but when he had called in some other people who were standing without, it was gone to them, and none besides himself was able to perceive or smell it. Again, it often hap-

pened in that church, that a light, which was over the place where the holy confessor's body lay, burned, though not lit by the hand of man. At another time a maid of the kindred of St. Winibald, who for two years had been struck with paralysis (the affliction of the saint himself) in the right arm and hand, came to the place of his sepulture, and her withered arm was restored to its use. These were the beginning of the miracles by which God showed how pleasing in his sight the life of the holy man had been.

Fifteen years afterwards, St. Willibald determined to rebuild the church and abbey of Heidenheim on a more magnificent scale. Probably it had been before chiefly a wooden edifice. The miracles at his brother's tomb made him wish to lay his reliques in a fitting shrine. Accordingly, with a great number of clergy and people, he dug, and laid the foundation-stones for the future building. While he and the people were thus piously occupied, the clock-bell of the church struck out of its own accord, though all the people witnessed that no man's hand had moved it, and were much astonished at the miraculous sound. The church was three years in building; at the end of two years, the chapel intended for St. Winibald's chapel and shrine was completed, but the whole church was not finished.

Into this chapel, when it was ready, his bones were to be borne, and there laid. On St. John Baptist's day, one whom Winibald resembled in austere devotion, they proceeded to open the grave. The bishop, with a priest and his deacons, ap-

proached the spot, and raised the stone which lay over it, and began to dig to the coffin. The body had now lain in the grave nearly sixteen years, only three months short of that time; St. Willibald naturally did not wish to see the body of his dear brother in unsightly decay, and retired without the church; the priest and deacon were left to disinter the body, and, for fear of the effluvia, wrapt a cloth round their nostrils. It did not need, for when they penetrated the vault, and lifted the coffin lid, there the body lay comely and fair, as if he had died but yesterday. Nothing was altered; not even a hair had fallen from his head, for saints are beautiful still in death. With joy and wonder they lifted him uninjured gently from the grave.

Willibald, in doubt and distress, had been waiting the result without; but how great was his glad surprise, when his brother, whom he thought decayed in death, came forth in freshness and beauty from the tomb! God, who had raised Lazarus when four days dead from the grave, had kept the blessed Winibald uncorrupt for so many years. The bishop and clergy entered the church, Willibald himself said mass, and the whole people sung, and the chapel, which stood at the east end, and the church was dedicated to the Holy Saviour, and after the solemnity was over, the body was exposed to view, and the people poured in in crowds to gaze upon it, as it lay whole and perfect for all to touch and handle.

Then the bishop, giving thanks to God, first came, and stooping gave his brother the kiss of peace, and afterwards his sister, who survived him sixteen

years, and then his dear disciples in order. They then raised the body, and carried it to the chapel, and laid it in the new-made shrine; the people crowded that if possible they might at least touch some part of him. And as the procession moved, all the people, says the narrative, cried, "Kyrie eleison!" and after he was laid in the new chapel, the bishop sang mass there, and when the mass was over, and all the solemnity was over, they gave thanks to God and the blessed St. Winibald. And all the people returned rejoicing to their homes.

On the next day, about the same hour of the day that the saint had been carried to the shrine, a woman came to the chapel, one side of whose body was paralysed. As soon as she was seated at the shrine her dead limbs began to tingle and revive, the life-blood returned to them, and she rose restored to health. Upon her recovery she took the veil. Those particularly who suffered under the same trials that the holy man himself had so patiently endured, seem to have found mercy.

So again, at another time, one of those unhappy wanderers, who in the times of ancient Christendom were to be found in penitential guise, with the mark of Cain upon them, until they had expiated their guilt by tears of long sorrow and public shame, was freed from his chains at St. Winibald's shrine. It was the custom in the case of crimes of a deep dye, to send the man of awful sin on a ceaseless pilgrimage; a chain was riveted on him to proclaim the child of sin; and thus, a warning spectacle, he dragged his fettered limbs from shrine to shrine, declaring and confessing his guilt, and praying for

forgiveness, until either death, or the mercy of God, released him. It was such an one found grace in the chapel of St. Winibald; the manacles with which both his hands were bound fell off as he was weeping and praying, and making the sign of the cross he arose and went away rejoicing.

Many other people, who had withered or contracted limbs, were cured there, and blessing God who had been pleased thus to get Himself honour both in the life and in the death of His patient and suffering servant, returned full of faith and thankful from the monastery of St. Winibald.

LIFE OF

ST. GERMAN

BISHOP OF AUXERRE, A.D. 418–448

ADVERTISEMENT

CARE has been taken in the annexed work to avoid as far as possible all dogmatism upon disputed points of doctrine and discipline. The austerities of Saints and the miracles they performed are, in some measure, an exception, both because the numbers of those who have ungenial feelings with regard to them are gradually diminishing, and because they form, as it were, the very substance of ancient Hierology. At the same time, many things which are out of date in this country have been produced just as they were found in original documents for the sake of historical veracity. Facts have been often related as facts without any intention of proposing them as examples. For which reason little has been said about the development of any principle into its consequences, or the different stages of the process, as necessarily involving an opinion and a decision upon the thing developed or the reality of the development. Those miracles, which have been given without any stress upon the authority or evidence, are here considered true and credible as far as testimony can make anything credible. Still, on the circumstances and accidents chiefly has the weight been laid, inasmuch as probable

evidence varies in its influence in proportion to the shades of human disposition and prejudice. Where no authority is given, that of Constantius, the contemporary of St. German, must be supposed; elsewhere the author or the sources of the information are distinctly marked. Hericus, the Commentator of Constantius, after his original, stands out among the recorders of these miracles.

Lastly, the dates of Boschius the Bollandist have been followed. Though on some occasions it might have appeared warrantable to depart from them, yet it was safer not so to do. Dates are, as many other things, like a house of cards. Take away one, you endanger the whole fabric. The chronology of the learned Jesuit is all of a piece. It is finely interwoven with the facts, and it does not materially vary from that of our great Chronologer, Archbishop Usher.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Portrait of Canon Walker

Author of

S. German

THE PUBLISHERS have been for some months endeavouring to obtain this Portrait, but without success. It has been decided, therefore, not to further delay the publication of this second volume, but to issue it without the Portrait, which, if eventually discovered, will be included loosely in one of the later volumes; it can afterwards be bound in in its proper position.

LIFE OF

ST. GERMAN

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE subject of the following narrative will be called not St. Germanus nor St. Germain, though precedents are not wanting for these forms of his name, but St. German. This it is believed is his true English name, as connected with the ancient and warm sympathies of our country. Several places still bear witness to these sympathies, while they support the assertion just made. The town of St. Germans in Cornwall, with its old Priory, the Abbey-church of Selby in Yorkshire, dedicated to St. German, the Cathedral church of the Isle of Man, a chapel yet visible in the Abbey of St. Albans, and the field of a famous victory obtained in Wales, by the Britons under St. German's auspices, and still called Maes Garmon, or Field of German : these are the most prominent instances, though doubtless there are many other traces of the Saint and his name, in that store-

house of old traditions and fond remembrances, Wales.[1]

St. German was born in the fourth century, and flourished in the beginning of the fifth. He was not a Briton by birth, parents, or habitual residence. Yet he is numbered among English saints on account of his great services to our nation, and has been honoured with the high title of Apostle to the Britons by his contemporaries and by subsequent writers. He was bishop of Auxerre in France, a town not very far from Sens, which was the metropolitan See, and the name of Auxerre is commonly added to his own, to distinguish him from another famous St. German, bishop of Paris a century later.[2] Six other distinguished saints are also mentioned as having at different times, and in different countries, borne the same name : a martyr near Amiens, a bishop of Constantinople, a bishop in Africa, a martyr in Spain, another at Cesarea in Cappadocia, and a bishop of Capua. The canonisation of St. German of Auxerre was not determined by those rules which in later times were introduced to avoid mistake ; either the age in which he lived was marked with greater candour, or his character stood too high to require any investigation. The testimonies to his fame from early writers equal, one might almost say, the number of authors in Gaul or Britain who lived within a few centuries of his own time. St. Gregory of Tours has trans-

[1] He is called German in Cressy, Collier, Stillingfleet, Dugdale and Camden : in the Primer of Queen Mary, Germayne, but in the Psalter of Elizabeth, German.

[2] See Martyrol. Antissiod. 1751.

mitted to us the words of St. Nicetius, who, a century after St. German's death, wrote to a person in high authority in the following way: "In what language can I speak of the illustrious German, Hilary or Lupus? such miracles are performed at the time I write before their shrines, that language fails me in relating them. Persons afflicted by demoniacal possession are suddenly raised and suspended in the air, while undergoing the ceremony of Exorcism, and proclaim publicly the glories of these Saints." Accordingly Auxerre, from the date of his elevation to the bishopric, became the object of universal reverence in the West. No town in France, say the learned,[1] can boast of such a number of precious offerings. Yet there is nothing in the natural advantages of the place to raise it in men's consideration. To the mere traveller for pleasure, Auxerre must appear very insignificant. The country around is uniform and tame. Its vineyards produce excellent wines, but vineyards are in reality not pleasant objects to behold. The river Yonne is large enough to supply the town with the necessaries of life, but too inconsiderable on the other hand to give much dignity to the walls it washes. The buildings are not of the most stately and attractive appearance. Many collegiate Churches in France exceed St. Stephen, the cathedral of Auxerre, in architectural beauty. Yet notwithstanding Auxerre has ever had more than the ordinary respect of Christendom, which is to be traced up to St. German its founder and

[1] Gallia Christ. Abbayes de France, Beaunier, tom. II.

benefactor. Such was the title of this Saint to Canonisation; not any formal examination into his claims, but the general consent of men, the acknowledged reality of his miracles, the proverbial use of his name, the durable efficacy of his saintly life.

St. German's name is found in all the early martyrologies and calendars. Martyrologies are not confined to the names of Saints who have sealed the Faith with their blood, else were he excluded from them. He was a Confessor. In the presence of danger and amidst much suffering, he bore witness to truth and opposed profane violence. Yet were his sufferings chiefly self-imposed; and occasioned by the mortifications of a singularly ascetic life; and unless we except the temporary difficulties to which he was exposed by the contact of barbarian chieftains, voyages at sea, and opposition of heretics, his life may be said to have passed on the whole calmly and quietly. He died at Ravenna in Italy, surrounded by the imperial court, and attended by several bishops of note. In the later martyrologies, his day is appointed to be kept on the 31st of July, as the editions of the Roman, by Baronius and Usuard, show. But in ancient times, the 1st of October was, together with the former, observed in his honour; and it is no small commendation (if he needed any) that his memory was blessed solemnly by the universal Church in the West twice a year. At Auxerre, as many as six days were devoted to the praise of its Patron. One may add for the benefit of persons accustomed to distinguish between the relative importance of days, that the

31st of July is still kept in France as a *Duplex*, and at Auxerre as a *Duplex Primæ Classis*, according to the dignity of the Patron of a Church.

But we have yet to inquire before we enter upon the details of his life, what was that peculiar connection of St. German with England which has deserved him the title of an English Saint. A short notice in one of Bede's[1] minor works will explain this point sufficiently for the present purpose. "The Pelagian heresy," he says, "was disturbing the faith of the Britons; on which account they implored the assistance of the Bishops of Gaul, who sent to them German, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes, both endued with Apostolical gifts, to defend the Christian Faith. The two Bishops, on arriving, restored religion to its purity by the word of truth and the evidence of miracles. Moreover the Saxons and Picts were engaged in war with the Britons at that time, and had united their forces. Whereupon the two champions undertook their defence, and through Divine interposition defeated the enemy. For German assumed himself the conduct of the war, and instead of making use of the Trumpet, gave orders that the whole army should strike up the cry of Allelujah, which terrified their formidable adversaries to such a degree that they took to flight." This, as it will be seen, occurred in his first visit to England; but he also paid the Britons a second, the circumstances of which are not in all points ascertainable from the remains of so early a period. The fact however is

[1] Bede, De sex Aetatibus, ad annum, 440–2.

certain, and is not only related by Constantius, the original biographer of St. German, by Bede, and Hericus, a monk of Auxerre, but testified by the words of the martyrology of this last town. "The 31st of July," it says, "is sacred as the day of the decease of St. German of Auxerre, at Ravenna. He was a bishop distinguished for his birth, faith, doctrine, and wonderful gift of miracles. Having been sent into Great Britain together with St. Lupus, of Troyes, by the prelates of Gaul, he overthrew the Pelagian heresy in that island; and again a second time having resorted thither with Severus of Treves, he entirely eradicated the remaining seeds of that error." It will be seen by this that the companion of St. German was not the same on the two occasions, the former being St. Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, the brother of the famous Vincentius Lirinensis, and the friend of St. Sidonius Apollinaris, and the latter Severus, an eminent Bishop of Treves, the residence of the imperial Prefect.

These are the principal reasons which justify us in ranking him among our own worthies. Nor is he solitary in this claim to naturalisation. Palladius (not to speak of St. Augustine, the great Archbishop of Canterbury, and many others), Palladius, the apostle of the Scots, was not a Briton; some have thought he was a Greek by birth, who was attached to the Roman See. In truth there are distinguished persons in history who appear to belong to no nation exclusively, but to be the common property of society. Of this kind were the Apostles of our Lord; they were claimed as Patrons by every

Church they visited, and their Jewish origin was merged, so to say, in the wider privileges of Catholic birthright. Such also in his degree was St. German. He is French, because he flourished in Gaul; he is British, because he converted Britain from heresy; he is Italian, because he terminated his glorious career at Ravenna. Next to the service of establishing primarily the Christian Faith in a nation, none may deserve higher praise (if the word may be used for what is above praise) than that of extirpating error, and restoring the Doctrines of the Church to their natural purity. Such was St. German's work for the British Church. The establishment of Christianity in this island dates, as has been already remarked, from times Apostolical; but in process of time Orthodoxy was assailed by the perversions of the well-known Pelagius, who in all probability was himself a Briton, and who by means of his emissaries created a schism in our Church, and threatened the very foundations of its existence. Deputed by the Gallican bishops with the sanction of Pope Celestine, German fulfilled the object of his mission, and secured to himself the eternal obligations of the Britons, with the illustrious title of Apostle.

Were there not very vague notions afloat of the state of Christendom in the fifth century, it might be sufficient to leave the details of his life to adapt themselves to the circumstances of his times, according to general principles of history. But the particular crisis in which the Western world was placed when he was raised to the office of Bishop, has given rise to some confusion. In the minds of

many there is no middle between an age of barbarism and one of refinement. But in truth, the line by which we may distinguish one period from another is often arbitrary and indefinite. On the bare mention of the invasion of the barbarians, some would expect nothing but ignorance, vice, and superstition. Yet in general the most overbearing revolutions are incapable of destroying at once the great features of the manners of any period. There is a state of transition which precedes a new era, and which partakes of the characteristics of the two contending influences. The Middle Ages are supposed to begin with the invasion of the barbarians in the fifth century; but whoever will consider the protracted existence of Roman institutions and manners for centuries after that time, will necessarily abate his ideas of barbarian ascendency. The great invasion of the Goths into Gaul took place in 406, that is, twelve years *before* St. German was Bishop of Auxerre, and twenty-eight *after* his birth, consequently in the very flower of his years. Honorius, the brother of Arcadius, and the son of Theodosius the Great, was then emperor of the West. The effects of this invasion were dreadful beyond description. Its fury seems chiefly to have raged in that part of France in which Auxerre is situated. Mayence, Strasbourg, Spires, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, situated in the north-eastern parts of that country, are noted as the objects of unlimited devastation. "The consuming flames of war," says Gibbon, "spread from the banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul.

That rich and extensive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the barbarians, who drove before them, in a promiscuous crowd, the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their homes and altars." Traces, it may be added, were left long after at Auxerre of the presence of these relentless invaders. But after all the accumulated circumstances of their oppression are taken into account, it still remains constant that the great bulk of the people in Gaul continued Roman in institutions, manners, language, arts, and religion. There was no indiscriminate division of the conquered lands among the conquerors, as Montesquieu has proved, and in many cases conditions were stipulated, which, while they secured the liberty of the natives, were more advantageous to the aggressors than wanton violence. Again, though we should admit the most extreme opinions concerning the multitude of the barbarian invaders, yet had they been distributed over so large a country as Gaul, their numbers would have been very inadequate for any sudden revolution. Consequently, in the first invasion of 406, it appears their sojourn in particular places was not long; and after they had exercised their wonted pillage, they moved onward without securing what they left behind. Thus Auxerre, with a large district in its vicinity, returned to the dominion of the Romans, who continued as before their magistrates and generals throughout that country. St. German himself, as we shall see, was duke and governor in obedience to Rome. The Franks seem to have been the first who took regular

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possession of Auxerre and the provinces around it, and in process of time it was conceded to the king of the Burgundians, the comparative leniency of whose government is well known. But there was another cause not less effectual in diminishing the pernicious effects of the invasion, and which ought not to be overlooked.

The ascendency of moral and intellectual endowments is so great, that when two hostile powers are brought into contact for any length of time, physical strength almost invariably yields in some measure to the sway of mental superiority. The Goths became a different people after they had taken possession of Gaul. The court of Toulouse rivalled that of Ravenna in the protection of literature and arts, and in the elegancy of its forms. "The odious name of conquerors," says Gibbon again, "was softened into the mild and friendly appellation of the *guests* of the Romans; and the barbarians of Gaul repeatedly declared, that they were bound to the people by the ties of hospitality, and to the emperor by the duty of allegiance and military service. The title of Honorius and his successors, their laws, and their civil magistrates, were still respected in the provinces of Gaul, of which they had resigned the possession to the barbarian allies; and the kings, who exercised a supreme and independent authority over their native subjects, ambitiously solicited the more honourable rank of master-generals of the imperial armies. Such was the involuntary reverence which the Roman name still impressed on the minds of those warriors who had borne away in triumph

the spoils of the Capitol." The south of France moreover, it must be remembered, continued long in the possession of the Romans. It comprehended what was called Septimania, or the Seven Provinces, of which Arles was the seat of government. There the Pretorian Prefect of all Gaul had his residence. The vicinity of this stronghold of old Roman civilisation and splendour tended not a little to soften the barbarians throughout the land.

As a general fact, the invasion of the barbarians produced an undoubted decay in the cultivation of letters, and Sidonius Apollinaris[1] deplores, in his letters many years after, the neglect into which the schools of learning were falling. Without stopping to observe that the attainments of St. German himself would not be affected by this circumstance, since his education must have been completed many years before the invasion, the expressions of Sidonius are to be understood with great limitations. There were many like himself who had enjoyed all the advantages of a liberal education, Faustus of Riez,[2] Claudian Mamertus, Lupus, Constantius, Probus, and many others. The study of classical literature was still the great resource of the higher classes, and very frequently the disturbance of the times, instead of diverting men from intellectual pleasures, was the occasion of their popularity. Ferreolus and Apollinaris, two distinguished persons who had retired from public life on account of the impossibility of adapting high principles to the proceedings of state affairs, would thus natu-

[1] B. II. Lett. x. p. 172.

[2] Sidon. Ep. iv. I. p. 318. See also Anquetil, tom. I. p. 221.

rally consider their libraries as one of the chief ornaments and resources of their magnificent seats, where the danger of indulging in political conversations would be compensated by the freedom with which literary characters were canvassed. Not only all the writings of antiquity which have come to our knowledge were familiar to persons of education, but authors are alluded to by them which are totally unknown to us. Moreover, schools had been established in Gaul so early as Tiberius's reign; the study of the sciences had been encouraged by several edicts from successive Emperors; and by degrees that country had become the seat of learning and talent. The author of St. German's life mentions his attendance at the Auditoria Gallicana, or Gallic schools, and we learn from St. Jerome that at the same time the liberal arts were in the most flourishing condition in Gaul. The principal universities (for such they seem to have been) were at Treves, Bordeaux, Autun, Toulouse, Lyons, Marseilles, and other great towns. Their importance may be estimated by the attention paid to them by the government. Repeated edicts were issued for their advantage. An extract from that of Gratian in the year 376, only two years before St. German's birth, is too interesting to be omitted.

"Gratian Augustus to Antony, Pretorian Prefect of all Gaul.

"In the great cities, which belong to the district committed to your[1] Magnificence, and which are

[1] The titles bestowed upon the various officers of the Empire was a point of great nicety, in the fourth and fifth centuries.

distinguished for professors of learning, the most accomplished must preside at the education of the youth; whether teachers of rhetoric or grammar in the Grecian and Roman languages. The orators[1] are to receive from the treasury the salary of twenty-four measures; and the Greek and Latin grammarians, according to custom, may be content with twelve measures. In order also that those cities, which claim metropolitan privileges, may have the choice of professors (inasmuch as each town may not be enabled to pay sufficiently for masters and instructors), we intend to add something for the advantage of Treves; and enjoin that thirty measures be granted to the professor of rhetoric, twenty to the Latin, and twelve to the Greek, master of grammar."

It is no contradiction to what has been said, that the general taste had very much degenerated since the Augustan age. The fact indeed cannot be denied, though opinion as to its extent and application may vary according to the prejudices of individuals. But the taste of an age is not a certain criterion of the condition of learning and science. It sometimes happens that the greatest diffusion of knowledge is not accompanied with an equal degree of judgment and refinement. But whatever symptoms of decay may have been perceptible in the public schools of Western Europe, they were more than counterbalanced by the ardour and industry which was bestowed upon theological studies. And it is very probable that the true

[1] The orators here are the same as the professors of rhetoric.

cause of those complaints to which Sidonius Apollinaris gave vent concerning the neglect of learning, arose more from the distaste of Pagan literature which the institution of Christianity produced, than from the immediate influence of the barbarians. Do what they would, to use a familiar expression, the greatest votaries of classical pursuits were finally compelled to follow the tide of opinion, or rather were themselves alienated from a subject which corresponded so imperfectly with the new sympathies of their nature. The author just quoted, so skilled in poetical art, so successful in elegant composition, himself grew weary of his former occupations, and devoted the latter years of his life to the deeper studies of a Christian Bishop. Claudian Mamertus, a man of considerable genius, was famous for his philosophical attainments, yet to him was the Church indebted for very different services in Christian doctrine, and the introduction of a more perfect system of psalmody and public worship.[1] In fact the whole energy of Europe was concentrated upon one object: the new Faith which had lately taken possession of the nations and brought at last the imperial power into its obedience. Gaul was not behind other countries in giving evidence of the zeal which had been kindled. Christian literature became the general subject of interest. Commentaries on the sacred scriptures, treatises on ecclesiastical offices, practical exhortations, expositions of orthodox doctrine, occupied the atten-

[1] See Sidon. Ep. iv. II.

tion of all. Foremost stood the monks of Lerins, in their labours for the truth. Lerins was an island to the south of France, where St. Honoratus had founded a monastery after the example of Cassian, and Cassian had lately brought over from Egypt the monastic system and established it at St. Victor in Marseilles. These two setttlements proved the seat of religious and intellectual activity. Many of the eminent writers of the time were there brought up. Besides the two distinguished founders just mentioned, Vincentius surnamed Lirinensis, St. Hilary, St. Lupus, Faustus, and others, had been disciplined by the rule of Lerins. These were contemporaries of St. German, and in all probability well acquainted with him; two we have positive evidence of having been his friends, St. Hilary of Arles, and St. Lupus of Troyes. But there is a peculiar circumstance connected with these monastic houses which tended greatly to promote religious studies in Gaul. This was, as is well known, the contest which had been awakened throughout Christendom between the sectaries of Pelagius and the Church. No country took a more ardent part in the struggle than Gaul, and no particular spot centred in itself so much controversial warmth as Lerins. Times of religious controversy are probably the most conspicuous for the energetic display of the moral and intellectual faculties. Discussions on abstract questions of philosophy, or even on subjects of political interest do not always avail to rouse the feelings of mankind in general. One country, one city, one school, often absorbs all the sympathy which they excite. But when

religion and the interests of the soul are the subjects of debate, the sparks of human energy are kindled as by a charm, and spread with the rapidity of an electric fluid. Opinions work upon actions, and actions react upon opinions; the defence of truth or error stirs up the moral powers and leads men on to deeds of vigour, the character of which depends on the principle which first gave birth to them; again the effects of active zeal reflect upon the opinions and systems of men, and raise them to those heights of speculative and logical abstraction which are the wonder of beholders, and the enigma of future generations. This was remarkably exemplified in the age of St. German. Theology was beginning to assume that systematic shape which it maintained and developed during successive ages. The attacks of heretics directed against every part of orthodox doctrine, at one time impugning the articles of faith, at another the canons of discipline and order, had exercised the arms of the Catholics. They had learnt by encountering so many various sects, the analogy of the Faith, and at the same time the connection of error. Hence they were enabled to dig more deeply round the foundations of Christianity, and to anticipate the introduction of false teaching, by advancing to the abstruse and ultimate principles of all religion.

CHAPTER II

ST. GERMAN'S YOUTH

ST. GERMAN was born at Auxerre in the Diocese of the Archbishop of Sens, probably about the year 378. Gratian was emperor of the West, and Valens of the East. The following year Theodosius the Great came to the throne of Constantinople.[1]

Little is known of his early years. Constantius, his original biographer, informs us that his parents were of noble rank. Their names were Rusticus and Germanilla, and long after their death their memory was preserved at Auxerre, where German had erected a chapel over their remains.[2] There is no authority, however, for considering them in the light of canonised Saints. It is certain they attended carefully to the education of their son; and from the silence of ancient writers, one might infer he was an only son. This, however, is not necessary to account for the excellence of his education; it never was a feature of the Roman character to neglect the education of the youth; and those of noble birth were in the fourth and fifth centuries as careful on this subject as they might have been in Cicero's time. Consequently

[1] Art de Vérifier les Dates, tom. I. p. 396. Anquetil, tom. I. p. 216.

[2] Hericus de Mir. ch. II. 19.

German was instructed in the seven liberal arts, Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. The progress he made in them was proportioned to the abilities and judgment with which nature had endued him. To enter profoundly into the study of any, or to arrive at equal information in all, was not the object of this preparatory course, or, as Eusebius calls it, *encyclic* instruction.[1] Exclusive attention to any particular branch of learning was reserved for a subsequent period, when the youth were sent to the Universities, which, as we have seen, were in a very flourishing condition at this time. Law was that which was marked out for German. The knowledge and even profession of the Law was almost necessary for the young pretenders to dignities and offices. It does not appear to have incapacitated them from bearing arms, and the two professions were not infrequently united in the same person.[2] But it was the Career of the Pleader which was emphatically called the "Nursery of Honours."[3] "Hardly," says a contemporary writer, "were the suits of the barrister at an end, than his titles and dignities began."[4] We cannot be surprised at this, when we remember the important part which eloquence held in the Roman constitution. The corruption again of manners would afford a larger scope for the talents of the Pleader than is possible in a well-regulated state;

[1] Τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδεία, Book vi. ch. 2; see Valesius's learned note.
[2] See Sidon. Apoll. Lib. xi. B. i. p. 58, and his Life.
[3] "Seminarium dignitatum," Nov. Theod. xxxiv.
[4] Sid. Apoll. B. I. Lett. xi. p. 60.

and though the public acuteness and discernment would naturally progress as the art became more refined, yet would there be numerous occasions where the wit of one man might divert the minds of the judges into the channel he wished. Full proof of this fact is to be found in the records of the age.[1]

What danger, however, was involved in the state of life to which German was destined, he would have met with considerable advantage. He was a Christian, and his parents were Christians. He lived in a place adorned by holy Bishops, from whom all that spiritual care, which parents are insufficient to bestow, was to be expected. The Sacraments to which laymen are admitted would have been early offered to him, though we have no direct intimation of it. For it was considered so important a neglect in Novatian, that after the Baptism he received on the bed of sickness, which the ancients called Clinical baptism, he had not sought for confirmation at the hands of the Bishop,[2] that Pope Cornelius doubted whether he had been partaker of the Holy Ghost; and it was made the ground of a serious opposition to his admission into the Priesthood. But we do not find that objection was raised against German at a subsequent period when elevated to the Bishopric, on the score of any such omission. Nor would he have been deprived of that Christian instruction which the catechetical schools of the primitive Church afforded. A part so essential of ecclesias-

[1] See Sid. Ap. B. ii. Lett. v. and B. ii. Lett. vii.

[2] Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ περιχυθεὶς ἔλαβεν. Euseb. B. vi. 43 ch.

tical discipline must have held at Auxerre, as in the rest of Christendom, the place which was due to it. The five Bishops who have governed the Church of Auxerre before St. German's accession have all been honoured by posterity as Saints. And we may safely infer that the flock which they tended possessed all the spiritual advantages which the Church can furnish.

It was under these circumstances that German went to Rome to complete his education and enter into public life. Rome was at that time, what Paris was in the middle ages, the University of Universities, or, as it was called, the "Home of jurisprudence, and the school of letters."[1] In the thirteenth century an illustrious Italian was known to seek for knowledge in France; but in the fourth, the native of Gaul repaired to Rome in order to give the last finish to his studies.[2] Thither flocked from all quarters of the empire numbers of students, the occupations of whom attracted the special notice of Government. They were obliged to enter their names in the registers, to present testimonials of their birthplace and quality, and to declare what studies they intended to follow. Lodgings were assigned to them, and officers, called Censuales, were appointed to make an inspection into their lives, and to see that they avoided clubs or associations, and attendance on public sports and entertainments. If any were found faulty, they were to be punished, and sent away home. But none were permitted to stay at Rome after twenty, lest

[1] Sid. Ap. B. i. Litt. vi. p. 30.
[2] See Villemain, Littérature, on Dante.

the splendour and vanities of the city should tempt them to forsake the service of their country.[1] Besides a large number of private teachers, there were public professors appointed, who had their schools in the area of the Capitol. Notwithstanding this discipline, among the great temptations which Rome presented, German would naturally require the antidote of early habits of restraint, and experience the benefit of those precepts which he had learnt of his parents and Bishop. His character indeed had not as yet the mark of deep holiness; rather it appeared of an unformed kind; like many of his own age, he would seek to enjoy life, and yet shrink from transgressing the dictates of conscience. But where pleasure is constantly before the eyes, the conscience may soon lose its discernment, unless directed by special circumstances. German's sojourn at Rome has been left in obscurity by his biographers, and we might fear for the consequences of his residence in so corrupt a city.[2] Yet nothing has been transmitted which could throw any blame upon his morals or general character, except what might be involved in carelessness with regard to religious duties, and fondness for juvenile sports. Still such were the temptations which especially then surrounded the Christian in Rome, and in every large city of the empire, that public amuse-

[1] See Stillingfleet's Origines, p. 215, Ed. 1840. See also a letter of St. Jerome to Rusticus.

[2] St. Jerome in his early years, not long before, had experienced the dangers of Rome, and was haunted ever after with the painful recollection of them. Vid. Fleury, Lib. xvii. § 3. See also the interesting poem of Chateaubriand, "Les Martyrs."

ments, which are never without their dangers, were poison in themselves to those who joined in them. The majority of Christians nevertheless did indulge in them, and the best that can be said of this practice is, that the intention might be innocent at first. "Behold," says Salvian, "innumerable thousands of Christians resort daily to the impure representations of the theatres." The theatres and games were but the continuance of the old Pagan custom aggravated by the depravity of imperial manners, and no baptized person, says the same author, could attend them without offering plain violence to the oath of his initiation. Any one may easily convince himself of this fact by the numerous accounts left by ancient Christian authors, St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, Tertullian, and Salvian. So great, however, was the force of example, that the circus and theatres were crowded by those who might have been joining in the solemn services of the Church. "If it should happen, as it does indeed frequently, that the same day an ecclesiastical festival be observed and public games announced, I ask all candid persons which place attracts the most Christians, the stalls of the theatre or the House of God?—Nay, if the day of the Funeral games (Feralia Ludicra) occur at the same time as a feast of the Church, not only do they who call themselves Christians not come to Church, but if any unawares should have come, and hear suddenly that the games are going on while they are in Church, immediately they take their departure."[1]

However, it is remarkable how guarded the ex-

[1] Salvian, pp. 127, 131, 133. Ed. Baluzii.

pressions are which afford any clue to his life previous to his conversion. "The austerities of his future years, we are told, were sufficient to efface his past errors, *if he had committed any*, and render him who *perhaps* had been exposed to sin, the pattern of virtue."[1] This deserves particular consideration; for whereas on the one hand, much instruction is to be gained from the history of persons who have lived long under the influence of Satan and the world, and afterwards have been turned to God, and passed the latter part of their lives in penitence and deeds of amendment; so on the other it is useful to remark that uncommon religious fervour in later years need not be introtroduced by a youth of dissipation and vice, as the proverbial saying might seem to imply: "The greater the sinner the greater the Saint." If this popular phrase can bear any good sense, it must be taken to mean that those who have been great sinners must double their endeavours after holiness, in order to reach the level of the just and make amends for past transgressions. In early times it was a source of lasting bitterness to have sullied the white garments of baptism, though the rigours of penance had restored the sinner to God's favour.

However, if students were obliged to return to their countries at the age of twenty, German must have left Rome before any durable impression could be made on his disposition. About this time he entered upon the public duties of his profession, probably in his own country, Gaul, and distinguished himself in an especial manner before

[1] Constantius, c. ii. § 12.

the tribunals of the Prefect. He accordingly did not wait long to lay aside the Toga (which was the name for the Lawyer's habit, and from which the whole class were called Togati), and he was soon invested with the insignia of an administrative charge. It is uncertain what the first office was to which he was promoted. A later writer says he was Censor,[1] but his authority is insufficient. Soon, however, he rose to one of the highest dignities in the Empire; he was appointed Duke and Governor of the Provinces.

Not to mention the numerous subdivisions of offices, there were three distinct gradations in the government of the provinces represented by the Prefect, the Governor, and the Magistrate. The first had the administration of an entire province, the second that of a part only, the third the superintendence of a city or small district. In the last persecution which preceded the establishment of Christianity, the edict of Maximin, the Emperor, had been in the first place addressed to the Prefect; then it was the part of the Prefect to transmit its contents to the governors of the provinces,[2] who in their turn were enjoined to communicate the imperial orders to the various magistrates of particular places.[3] It was to the second of these stations that German was raised; the importance of it was great, for he appears to have had the government of the Armorican and Nervican Districts, which comprehended what was

[1] Hericus.

[2] *οἱ κατ' ἔθνος ἡγούμενοι*, or *οἱ κατ' ἐπαρχίαν*. Euseb. Lib. ix. ch. i.

[3] *λογισταὶ*, *στρατηγοὶ* and præpositi.

called at that time the first and second Aquitain, the province of Sens, and the second and third Lugdunensis, a tract of land which extended nearly from the banks of the Rhine to the shores of the Atlantic. The title of Duke which was attached to his office[1] had lost its etymological sense of a charge only military, and was identical with that of governor to all appearance, although naturally he would have commanded the service of the troops. Superior to him in the provinces were the Pretorian Prefect of all Gaul, and the vice-prefect or Vicarius of Gaul, strictly so called. The whole of the Roman Empire was divided into four Prefectures, the East, Illyria, Italy, and Gaul. The Prefecture of Gaul included Britain, Spain, and Gaul. Consequently the Prefect had a power equal almost to that of the sovereign. His residence was first at Treves, but during the episcopate of German, it was fixed at Arles in the south of France. Under him were three Vicarii,[2] whose authority must have been little inferior to that of the Prefect himself; there was one in each of the three great divisions, Britain, Spain, and Gaul. They must have been in fact the great check upon the Prefect's power, for they were not properly his ministers, but were appointed by the Emperor, and their office was accordingly considered *sacred*,[3] like that of their superior. Next to

[1] Thus in Euseb. Lib. ix. 4, mention is made of a στρατοωεδαρχὴς (different from the στρατηγὸς or magistrate) ὃν Δοῦκα (Duke) Ῥωμαῖοι προσαγορεύουσι, and the Codex Theod. says: "Ducis et Præsidis simul officio quandoque idem functus." "Idem Dux et Corrector Provinciarum. Notitia Dignitatum."

[2] See Sirmondus, Note I. to Litt. 2. B. I. Sidonius.

[3] Sacrâ vice.

these came the Dukes or Governors of the Provinces, to the number of twelve in the west, one of whom was German. Before he reached this high post, he had married Eustachia, a lady eminent for her birth and wealth, as well as for her good qualities; nothing is known concerning her, except that subsequently, when German was ordained, she changed the character of wife for that of his spiritual sister.

In all these circumstances of St. German's secular career, it would seem that he had been providentially prepared for the ecclesiastical dignity he was afterwards to hold. By the study of eloquence, which his early profession required, he had learnt the art of communicating his thoughts freely to any assembly of men, an acquisition which proved valuable in the exercise of his episcopal duties; for though on occasions, or even throughout his future life, he may have been supernaturally guided by the Holy Spirit in his intercourse with others, yet it is impossible to say how far what we call natural instruments are rendered subservient to the ends of God, or whether He ever dispenses with them, or whether there is not an antecedent absurdity involved in any of those distinctions, which are founded on man's short-sighted inductions, the whole theory of human ideas being of a nature so inconceivable. Again, German's acquaintance with jurisprudence was of the greatest importance to his pastoral office, and enabled him to meet those numerous legal emergencies which are common enough now, but in the fifth century engrossed, in a special manner, the attention of

the Bishop. "The Bishop," says a modern historian,[1] "was become in each town the natural head of the people, and, in fact, the mayor. His election and the interest it awakened were the great events of the city. It was chiefly by means of the Clergy that the Roman laws and customs were preserved in the towns, from which they were afterwards drawn for the general legislature of the state." It were easy to object against this consideration, that the career of the law was very generally adopted, as has been observed, and that if German was called from a secular profession to a religious office, it is not necessary to seek for a providential intervention to account for the advantages just mentioned. Two-thirds of the laity, it might be said, were skilled in oratory and jurisprudence, and it would be more extraordinary that German should be ignorant with regard to them than the reverse. Again, it may be objected that transitions from a secular life to the ecclesiastical ministry were almost an every-day's occurrence. The fact is not denied; and since the invasion of the Goths they had become still more frequent. "If there is no strength in the republic," said an author of the same age,[2] "no protection; if the Emperor's supplies are at an end, the nobility have resolved either to abandon their country or to assume the Tonsure," which was the mark of ecclesiastical profession. But after all, the dictates of gratitude towards the moral Governor of the world may have their foundation in the reality of things, though

[1] Guizot, Essais, ed. Charpentier, p. 39.
[2] Sidon. Apoll. B. II. Lett. I.

the events which are the immediate occasion have in them apparently nothing extraordinary or contrary to the expectations of men. Effects are contained in causes, and effects virtually imply causes; if effects are good, on the supposition of a benevolent Author of all things, the causes must not only be good, but providential. In strict truth, those occurrences which are most common are as miraculous and providential as those which appear strange to our apprehensions. How can our conceptions grasp the real nature of anything? How can we understand the relations, the causes, the ends, the means, which constitute the reality of things? Happy coincidences are but the instrument of awakening our perceptions of God's righteous government, they are not the first link of a wise chain of circumstances. Still they are the just ground of gratitude to God, since they both involve the eternal causes of things, and are the development of the excellent and harmonious designs of Him who is the Fountain of all wisdom and goodness.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH OF AUXERRE

ONE of the districts of German's department was Auxerre. And there he resided. At the time he held the office of Governor, St. Amator was bishop of the town. Amator was the fifth bishop since an episcopal See had been founded there at the introduction of Christianity into that part of Gaul.

St. Peregrine, in the middle of the third century, was sent by Pope Sixtus the Second, at the request of a few Christians at Auxerre, and preached the Gospel to the Pagans who formed the bulk of the population. He built a small Church at one of the gates of the town, called the Gate of the Baths, because it was near the river Yonne where baths were erected. This was probably the time when seven bishops were sent through Gaul in the Decian persecution, who accomplished the conversion of that nation, although a great number of Pagans remained till a very late period.[1] Some provinces,

[1] The authors of the Gallia Christiana make a singular mistake in placing the persecution of Domitian in the third century. It was the persecution of Decius.

See Anquetil, France, tom. i. p. 170. Some say that nine Missionaries were sent by the Apostolic See into Gaul: Saturninus to Toulouse; Trophimus to Arles; Paul to Narbonne; Stremonius to Clermont; Martial to Limoges; Gratian to Tours; Peregrine to Auxerre; Savinian to Sens; Dionysius to Paris. See Tillemont, Mém. tom. iv. 480.

however, had Christian Churches long before; those of Marseilles, Lyons, Vienne, were flourishing in the time of Domitian, as Irenæus shows. St. Peregrine, after he had accomplished his Apostolic task at Auxerre, removed to other Pagan districts, and finally obtained the palm of martyrdom at Baugy in Burgundy, during a persecution which was raised against the Christians. We shall again have occasion to revert to this Saint, and the circumstances of his life. His memory is honoured on the 16th of May. St. Marcellianus was his successor in the Episcopate, and after him St. Valerian, who was present at the Councils of Sardica and Cologne, in the years 347 and 349. At his death in 366, St. Eladius governed the Church of Auxerre, and was succeeded by St. Amator in 388, who, as has been observed, was Bishop, while German was Governor.

This illustrious person, who holds such a conspicuous part in the history of German, was the only son of Proclides, and his wife Ursiciola.[1] His father constrained him to marry Martha, a native of Langres, in Champagne, in order to leave the riches of the family to natural heirs. St. Valerian, who was then Bishop, was desired to give the nuptial blessing. However, Amator, who had profited by the spiritual counsels of the Bishop, after the ceremony, determined to live a life of virginity, and accordingly communicated his intention to Martha, who adopted a similar resolution. After the death of his father, not content with this secret vow, he

[1] Isiciala in Gall. Chr. but Ursiciola in Tillemont.

applied to St. Eladius, the successor of St. Valerian, and made public profession of continence, on which occasion he received the Tonsure and was ordained Deacon, while Martha was enlisted among the women who consecrated themselves to God. They did not, however, part from each other, and in this imitated the example of St. Paulinus and St. Therasia, and many others.[1] It was not unlikely that envy should take occasion of this circumstance; and in fact, after Amator became Bishop, Licinius, his Archdeacon, with others, endeavoured to attack his character; but God took upon Himself the part of vindicating his innocence, and punished severely his accusers, who had carried their profane curiosity so far as to penetrate into his bed-chamber. Shortly after Martha died, and was buried at the Mons Autricus, which was the great Cemetery in the vicinity of Auxerre, where the three Bishops, Marcellianus, Valerian, and Eladius, were likewise buried.

The author of Amator's life,[2] who lived in the

[1] According to Stephanus, the African, in the sixth century, there was ecclesiastical sanction for the practice of the minor Clergy living in the same house with their wives, and partaking of the same table. But when they attained to a superior order, it was not lawful; whether Priests came under this limitation does not appear. P. 55. Boll. ad Mai. I. Tillemont, however, does not attach much credit to this author. See notes at the end of tom. xv. Eccl. Mém.

In Constantius we find a Presbyter living in the same house with his wife, Senator and Nectariola.

St. Aug. Cons. Evang. lib. ii. "Hoc enim exemplo (Mariæ et Joseph) magnificé insinuatur fidelibus conjugatis etiam, servatâ pari consensu continentiâ, posse permanere vocarique conjugium, non permixto corporis sensu, sed custodito mentis affectu."

[2] Stephanus, an African priest, whose work is found in the Boll. ad Mai. i. p. 58.

sixth century, and had opportunity to obtain correct information concerning him, relates, that while Amator was still Deacon, a lady of rank, called Palladia, entered the Church on Easter-day dressed in a costly manner. She had been married to a rich Pagan called Heraclius, of Ædua or Autun, and had subsequently turned Christian, though her husband remained a heathen. "When the sacrifice was ended,"[1] the author continues, "and she had received the holy Eucharist in bread, she advanced towards Amator, who, as Deacon, was appointed to administer the cup to the faithful as the confirmation of the communion." But he rejected her and bid her depart, because she was splendidly dressed, and had not withheld intercourse with her husband to prepare for so solemn a feast. Pricked to the heart at this public reproof, she went home and related to her husband what had happened, and urged him to take vengeance on the Deacon. While they were designing the death of Amator, they both fell dangerously ill. At last, conscious of the Divine wrath, they set off in a carriage (for they were too exhausted to walk), and when they found the Deacon, threw themselves at his feet, and entreated his pardon for the bad purposes they had entertained. Amator readily complied, and having sent for a Priest, he had Heraclius, the lady's husband, baptized, and then with oil that he himself had blessed, anointed them, calling on the name of the Lord, and healed them.

[1] Perfecto itaque sacrificio, dum Eucharistiæ libamina Sanguinis quoque haustu confirmare voluisset, accessit ad beatissimum Amatorem, tunc Diaconum, qui sacratissimum Calicem in vitam æternam populis porrigebat.

Amator succeeded to Eladius in 388, on Monday, the 27th of March, and governed the Diocese of Auxerre for thirty years, during which he effected a great reformation by his preaching, and performed a number of miracles. There was still much Paganism in that part of Gaul, notwithstanding the efforts of the preceding Bishops; and we must not consider Amator in his position when first he entered on his Episcopal duties, in the same light with subsequent Bishops, or again with Prelates of our own time. Power was still in the hands of the heathen, though the seat of the empire had declared for Christianity, and probably multitudes preferred the gorgeous display of Pagan rites to the more simple ceremonies of Christians. Accordingly it was with difficulty that ground was obtained for building Churches,[1] the number of which was very small. However, as the zeal of Amator converted many of the Gentiles, it became necessary to obtain space for religious worship. He therefore applied to a wealthy citizen named Ruptilius, for a large house which he possessed within the town. Ruptilius at first refused, but having fallen sick, he was compelled to resign it. Amator then turned it into a Church, and dedicated it on the 3rd of October. This is the Church which was afterwards celebrated as that of St. Stephen, and stood where the present Cathedral is situated. We shall see that St. German was afterwards ordained Priest and elected Bishop in the same, and that Amator there breathed his last, surrounded by his flock. In 600, Didier, Bishop

[1] See Steph. Amat. Vita, and Hericus, Mirac. B. i. ch. 3.

of the place, enlarged it, and dedicated it afresh on the 19th of April.[1] And in 1215, William, likewise Bishop of Auxerre, had it pulled down and restored on a more magnificent scale. While Amator was building, a large sum of money was found in the house, which he sent to Ruptilius, the former owner; but it was refused by him, and returned for the benefit of the poor and the repairs of the Church.

Among the miracles which are related of St. Amator, he is said to have put to flight the evil spirits which occupied the public burial-place on the Mons Autricus; to have restored sight to the blind, the use of their limbs to the cripple and paralytic, nay, even life to the dead; and to have stopped a conflagration which threatened to reduce the city to ashes.[2] Without stopping to examine the evidence on which these accounts rest, and to consider the degree of authority due to Stephen the African, who is the chief witness to them, it may be observed that there is no antecedent improbability in them, since we shall find that St. German performed greater and more miracles some time after, and that the testimony which has handed them down is allowed by learned critics to be of the most authentic and trustworthy nature.

During Amator's episcopate took place the invasion of the Goths, to which allusion has already been made. There is no distinct relation of the measure in which Auxerre suffered during the invasion, except what is involved in the vague expressions of St. Jerome and Orosius. However, one

[1] See Gallia Christ. 262, and Tillemont, t. xv.
[2] See Heric. de Mir. Tillemont, tom. xv.

victim of the barbarians' fury, as is supposed, a native of that city, and a child, has been preserved in the memory of posterity among the Acts of martyrs.[1] When the head of St. Just (for so he was called) was brought to his mother, who resided at Auxerre, the house in which it was bestowed was seen to spread forth a bright light. St. Amator having perceived it as he rose up to say his nightly office, inquired the cause of it, and upon learning what had happened, returned thanks to God for the honour of this martyrdom during his episcopate; after which he gave orders for a public procession, and deposited the head of St. Just in the place destined for its sepulture. This account, if it may not with more probability be referred to the persecution of Maximian a century before, according to the poetical narrative found among Bede's works, seems to prove that the effects of the invasion were felt at least in the neighbourhood of Auxerre, though there is no positive account of any siege of that town. At a later period it is certain that the barbarians occupied the place, for there was an interva. of ten years, during which the succession of the Bishops was suspended by the Goths.[2] But for the details of the first invasions between 406 and 409, we can only draw inferences. St. Jerome says:[3] "Innumerable and savage nations have occupied *the whole of Gaul. Whatever is situated between the Alps and the Pyrenees, the Ocean and the Rhine*, is laid waste by the Quadi, Vandals, Sarmatians, Alani,

[1] Vid. Tillemont, tom. xv.

[2] See Hericus, Prologue to the De Miracul. 2.

[3] Ep. cxxiii. ad Ageruchiam. Ed. Venet. tom. I. 914.

Gepides, Heruli, Saxons, Burgundians, Alemanni, and Pannonians. Mayence, that noble city, has been taken and sacked, and thousands have perished in her Church. Worms, after a long siege, has been utterly destroyed. The powerful towns of Rheims, Amiens, and Arras, have been the prey of their fury. Terouenne, Tournay, Spires, and Strasburg are converted into German provinces. Aquitain, Novempopulania, Lugdunensis, Narbonnensis, with the exception of very few towns, have been entirely pillaged," &c. There is reason to think Auxerre would be included in the general name of Lugdunensis, the limits of which are so imperfectly defined. And the course of the barbarians from Rheims to Toulouse, where they ultimately settled, would naturally be directed through the Diocese which Amator governed.

Such was the condition of the Church in which German was born, the Bishop whose influence balanced his own, and the succession which he was afterwards to take up.

CHAPTER IV

ST. AMATOR AND ST. GERMAN

LIKE all the great men in Gaul, German had his country seat. It was not far from Auxerre; and thither he frequently retired, to indulge in the amusement of hunting. Hunting at all times has been a favourite sport of the rich, and was then as popular with the Romans as with the Goths, to whose nature and habits it was especially congenial.[1] The duties of his office often obliged him to visit remote districts; but he was at his native place when an incident, apparently trivial, connected with this same sport, was the instrument in God's hands of giving an entire change to his life.

In the middle of the city, we are told, there was a large pear-tree, an object of reverence to the inhabitants, both for its antiquity and its size. Ostentation prompted German to bring the spoils of the chase to the town and hang them upon the favourite tree. This repeated practice gave offence to Amator. Some superstition was allied in the minds of the Pagans with the skulls of the animals, which German exposed in the public place, and which they called *Oscilla*.[2] The Christian profession of German

[1] See Sidon. Apoll. Lett. 3, B. iii. Lett. 2, B. i. Lett. 9, B. iv. Lett. 21, B. iv. Lett. 8, B. v.

[2] See Const. Vit. Germ. Tillemont, xv. t. p. 8. Canons of St. Boniface.

ought not to allow him, thought Amator, to foster the remains of heathenism, which his own efforts had tended so much to extirpate. It was an encouragement to the Pagans to continue those practices expressly denounced in Holy Scripture : "To sacrifice upon the tops of mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, *under oaks, and poplars, and elms, because the shadow thereof is good*" (Hosea iv. 13). He therefore presented himself before the civil Governor, and addressed him thus : "Cease, I entreat you, to indulge this empty jesting, for it is a stumbling-block to Christians, and a satisfaction to heathens. Such practices belong to the worship of idols, not to the pure religion of Christ." These admonitions, though often repeated, were lost upon German. Nor was it the power of an evil habit alone which confirmed him in his disobedience; Amator knew he was urged by a foolish feeling of vanity and worldly honour; he therefore desired him to cut down the tree itself, which gave occasion to the scandal; but all was vain.

One day when German had retired to his country place, Amator took his opportunity, and had the tree cut down to the very roots and burnt. The skulls he ordered to be cast away without the city. When the Governor heard what he had done, he was filled with wrath, and thinking his dignity exposed, as well as his vanity offended, he so far forgot the nature of that religion, to whose blessed sacraments and graces he had been admitted,[1] that he threatened death to the author of the deed. During

[1] "Ritu atque munere insignitus." Const. Tillemont, tom. xv. p. 8.

the heat of his indignation he set off for Auxerre, accompanied by a large body of men. He knew well that the inhabitants would rise up with one accord to defend their holy Bishop. The news of his intention, however, reached Amator before his arrival. Upon hearing which he exclaimed: "No, it is not possible that so unworthy a man as myself should bear witness with my blood to my Saviour." Martyrdom indeed was not granted to him, though none was more able to suffer all things for Christ. Far otherwise did Almighty God dispose events. It was revealed to the Bishop that his departure from this life was at hand, but that the very man who persecuted him would shortly succeed him in the See of Auxerre. Instigated by this Divine admonition, he did not wait for German's arrival, but set off to Ædua or Augustodunum, now called Autun, to have an interview with Julius the Prefect of Gaul,[1] who was then making a transitory sojourn in that city, his usual residence being Arles.

St. Simplicius was then Bishop of Autun. Second of the name, he was one of that bright cluster of holy prelates which then adorned the land, and did justice, says our authority, to his auspicious name by his singleness of heart and childlike spirit. Hearing of Amator's approach, he went out to meet him with his clergy. The same respect was

[1] The Prefect of Gaul, in a public edict this year, 418, is called Agricola; we must therefore either suppose him to have been called by both names, as was common, or that one of the two had lately succeeded the other; or again, that this Julius was not Prefect of all Gaul, but Vicarius of Gaul. See the Boll. note ad locum Constantii.

shown by the Prefect Julius, who, attended by a large suite, advanced to welcome him. After they had exchanged the usual salutations, Amator was led to the city, with all the demonstrations of reverence which his character and station commanded. Times have changed, and manners with them, and though genuine holiness must ever call forth the expression of the respect and love which it produces, yet the Saint does not meet with that reception now, which he did in the fifth century —shall we say even from barbarians. But to adhere closely to the original testimony of these precious customs at the risk of repetition; the following day, Amator expressed his wish to visit the Prefect at the Pretorium, as was called the abode of the supreme magistrate. Whereupon Julius hastened to meet him on his way, and with all the indefinable tokens of one who could distinguish the intrinsic dignity of the Christian priesthood, from the mere outward honours it possessed, he first guided the Bishop to his palace, and then humbly requested his blessing. After Amator had blessed him, he thus addressed him: "The Lord has informed me of my approaching end, and as there is no one fit to undertake the superintendence of the Church but the most illustrious[1] German, I desire your eminence to allow me to confer the Tonsure on him. For such is the revelation which the Lord my God has deigned to communicate to me." The Prefect answered that German was

[1] These epithets were not merely redundancies, as there was much nicety of etiquette concerning the titles of the different officers of State. See Gibbon, tom. iv.

indeed useful and even necessary to the republic, but since God had chosen him, he durst not oppose His commands, and therefore gave his consent.

No change could be made in the administration of Gaul without the Prefect's leave. Except the office of the Vicarius, all public charges were dependent upon his authority. German's was of this number, and he could not quit his post without commission from the supreme governor. This will explain what might seem strange in Amator's conduct. To influence German's mind and obtain his submission, he knew well was God's part; the ordinary methods of conciliation and intercourse were precluded by the hostile attempt just made; all in that quarter must be God's doing. His own department was to gain from the state what belonged to the state, and to prepare those subordinate means without which Providence does not interpose, but which yet diminish not from the divine nature of the interposition.

"My beloved sons," said Amator to a large concourse of his own flock, whom he had assembled in the hall of his house on his return to Auxerre, "listen to me with attention; what I have to communicate to you is of the utmost importance. By revelation from God I have learnt that the day of my departure from this world is at hand. I therefore exhort you all with one mind, carefully to inquire after the fittest person to elect overseer of God's house." The multitude remained silent, no one could speak for amazement. The election of Bishops rested at that time very generally in the

hands of the people;[1] the whole burden indeed usually devolved on the clergy, from the uncertainties of popular suffrage; still the privilege of electing belonged to the former, and they were as zealous in asserting it as they were inefficient in exercising it. Amator, perceiving the silence of the people, proceeded forthwith to the Church. The multitude followed him. At the entrance he stopped, and bid them lay down their weapons and staves, adding, that they were about to enter the house of prayer, not the camp of the god of war. This was apparently directed to German and his party, whose rage had had time to abate, and who, urged by the same feelings as the rest, had come to see the end of this astonishing scene. Accordingly they laid aside their arms, and entered the Church with the crowd. Amator having watched the opportunity when German entered, immediately gave orders to the Porters,[2] that is, the lowest members of the ecclesiastical order, to shut the doors of the Church, and fasten them closely. He then gathered the clergy round himself, with those nobles who were present, and proceeding straightway to German, laid hold of him. Then he solemnly invoked the name of God, cut off his hair,

[1] Guizot's France, Leçon iii. See also Eusebius, Lib. vi. ch. 43, and Valesius, Note at the words, "*ὑπο παντος τοῦ κληροῦ καὶ λαϊκων διακωλυόμενος.*"

[2] In Latin Ostiarii. This was the last grade of the Clergy; see Ducange ad vocem. Isidorus junior explains his functions in this manner. "To the porter belong the keys of the Church, in order that he may shut and open the temple of God, have the custody of everything within and without, admit the faithful, and exclude the infidel and excommunicated."

stripped him of his secular robes, and clothed him in the habit of an ecclesiastic.[1] After this he ordained him Priest, and addressed him thus: "Labour you must, most beloved and revered brother, to preserve immaculate and entire the dignity which has been committed to you; know, that at my death God has willed you should succeed to my office."

Scarcely had Amator retired from the Church than he began to feel the symptoms of his final sickness. His zeal, however, continued the same. Though debilitated by fever, he ceased not to preach to his people and perform the last duties of his office. One topic was ever foremost in his discourse: the succession of German to the Bishopric on his death, which was fast approaching. Unanimity in electing him he strongly pressed upon them; nor were the inclinations of the multitude less desirous of the succession, as they showed by answering with one accord, "Amen." At the same time tears rushed from their eyes, and grief filled their hearts, at the prospect of the loss they were to sustain. This, Amator endeavoured to alleviate by the character he drew of his successor, as revealed to him by God. On Wednesday, the 1st of May 418, A.D., he began to experience the agonies of death. In the midst of these he still

[1] It seems to be agreed that the Tonsure was not quite the same with that in the present Roman Church. A circle of hair was left, say some, to grow round the lower part of the head. St. Martin, by his opponents, was called "Hominem vultu despicabilem, veste sordidum, *crine deformem*." Sulp. Sex. ch. vii. His editor refers to Concil. Tolet. iv. c. 40, and Isid. de Offi. iv. 4. Bingham lays needless stress upon what small distinction existed in different times.

continued to address words of consolation to all around, and to mitigate the general sorrow. "Surely," said he, "these expressions of grief are ill-suited to your condition; you are about to obtain a Bishop far better than me. What poor services I may have been able to bestow, he will greatly surpass, by contributing to your eternal advantage. I mean, not only in life, but even in death he will remain the blessing of your city." These words were understood by the inhabitants of Auxerre in later times to be prophetic of the numerous miracles which were performed at the tomb of St. German. Then Amator requested he might be carried to the Church, intending to give up his spirit in the place where he had so often by day and by night confessed the name of God. A great multitude accompanied him; the clergy advanced first, and then followed the matrons. He had just time to be taken up to his pontifical throne (which, probably, as in many Churches of the time, was placed at the extreme end of what we should now call the chancel)[1] before he breathed his last, at the third hour of the day, that is, about nine in the morning, according to our present reckoning, the hour appointed for the chief office of the Church, and that in which our blessed Lord is supposed to have been crucified. At the same time, says Constantius, our chief informer, a choir of Saints, to the wonder of all, was seen to descend, and amid hymns and praises, to carry up his spirit in the form of a dove to heaven. Many, he adds, who had been present

[1] See Bingham's plan after Eusebius's description.

and lived in his own time, were ready to bear witness to the fact. Among these, says another writer before quoted, was Helena, a holy virgin famous for her virtues and miracles, whose feast occurs on the 22nd of May.[1] His body, after it had been washed, was conveyed to the same cemetery where Martha had been buried, and which was called, as we have seen, Mons Autricus or Mont-Artre. A circumstance which occurred some time after contributed to render this spot still more famous, though it was already noted for the blessed remains it contained. But of this hereafter.

When the multitude who had accompanied the funeral procession were returning, they were met by a paralytic person borne on the shoulders of others. He had come from the province of Berri, which is at some distance from Auxerre, attracted by the fame of Amator's holiness, and with some hope of being healed by him. His infirmity had remained with him for thirty years. He appears to have been a man in affluence. His attendants, ignorant of the Bishop's death, inquired of the multitude concerning him, and learnt the nature of the procession they had seen. Thereupon the infirm man entreated that he might be allowed the use of the water in which his body had been washed. German, who had not yet resigned his office of Governor, though he had been ordained Priest,[2] struck with their faith, gave orders that the limbs of the paralytic man should be washed with the water. The command had scarcely been

[1] Stephanus Africanus, 22nd May, Boll.

[2] "Tunc Presbyter;" subsequently he is called Magistrate.

executed, when the sufferer recovered his strength and soundness.

It is also said, but the authority is less certain, that as the funeral procession was passing by the public gaol, the gates opened by miracle, the prisoners regained their liberty and joined in the train.

Bede,[1] in his Martyrology, assigns the 6th of November as the day of Amator's Deposition. Those of Usuard and the Latin writers, says Tillemont,[2] place his feast on the 1st of May, the day on which his body was solemnly translated (and also apparently the day of his decease).

In 870, says Hericus,[3] who lived at that time, his remains were carried about, and the monks of St. German's monastery went in procession to request a relic of him. They obtained the fingers of the right hand, with which he had cut off German's hair, and carried them back to their own monastery, and deposited them in German's tomb. This meeting of the remains of two saints, so strangely connected with each other in life, was signalised by the miraculous cure of an infirm woman.

[1] He says Augustoduno, but this is probably a mistake for Antissioduro.

[2] Tillemont, t. xv. p. 11.

[3] Vide Supra.

CHAPTER V

GERMAN BISHOP

AFTER the death of Amator, there was but one voice in favour of the election of German in his place. The three distinct orders, the Clergy, Nobility, and People, including those who resided in the neighbourhood, as well as the inhabitants of Auxerre, joined in demanding the performance of the Divine order so lately communicated through Amator. But German could not bring himself to accept an office for which he deemed he had had so little preparation. By his former charge in the administration of the state, he had been thrown into circumstances so very unfavourable to the exercise of religious duties, that he needs must unlearn much that he knew, over and above the acquirement of what was indispensable for the episcopal functions. When the empire was in the gift of armies or factions, and tyrants were continually changing, involving often an entire revolution in the government of the provinces; when court intrigues, and all the pernicious arts of designing men occupied the chief attention of the officers of the republic, that conscientiousness and singleness of heart which German felt were necessary in an ecclesiastical ruler, were exposed to dangers

almost unavoidable. He therefore determined to refuse the election which he foresaw, and brought with him a party to support him. But all was in vain. He failed in commanding the wonted submission of the people; and a regular opposition was raised against him, not only by the mass of the people,[1] but by the nobles also, and even the former abettors of his own cause. Forced at last to accept the Bishopric, he soon showed that he was more fit for the office than he had supposed, and that the direction of Providence was signally manifested in the circumstances of the event.

Vocations are not to be lightly esteemed because there may appear an insufficiency in the means to fulfil them. Humanly speaking, nothing could be more unfit for the conversion of nations than the instrumentality of the fishermen of Galilee. But they were ordered to take no thought about what they should say, that is, not to shrink from their task, from ignorance of the means of discharging it; "for the Holy Ghost," it is added, "shall teach you all things." "It is impossible," says Tillemont,[2] "to conceive anything more astonishing than this vocation of St. German, so contrary, as it should seem, to the rules of the Church. But when He who is the Master of all rules speaks, it is our part to worship Him, and receive His orders with humble submission. It may be said that St. Britius, who at that time governed the Church of Tours, was still more unfit for the Bishopric than St. German, and yet God called him by the mouth of the very

[1] Bellum civile indicitur potestati. Const.
[2] Mémoires Eccl. t. xv.

St. Martin, whom he had offended when Deacon and Priest, much more grievously than St. German had St. Amator. God purified St. Britius by dreadful persecutions, and St. German by austerities unheard of in Gaul, and which the power of grace alone can enable to undergo. These," he concludes, "are fully established by the sincerity of Constantius his biographer."

German's accession to the Bishopric of Auxerre may be assigned with tolerable certainty to the 7th of July 418, A.D. He was apparently elected, as distinguished from consecrated, immediately after St. Amator's death, as we have just seen, and therefore on the 1st of May. About a month before, Amator had first secured him to the ministry of the Church and ordained him Priest, according to all probability, *per saltum*, that is, without the preparatory degrees.[1] But the delays occasioned by his own diffidence, and the necessity of getting three Bishops to attend at his consecration, protracted the ceremony of his induction to the month of July.

The reader may be desirous to know what were the leading circumstances of the fortunes of the Roman Empire when this event took place. Honorius was still Emperor of the West. He had again recovered the possession of Gaul through his able General, Constantius. That country had been distressed by civil war for many years. Maximus,[2] in 388, had given the example of laying

[1] See Bingh. 2 B. ii. ch. sec. 4, also Euseb. B. vi. 43.

[2] See Anquetil, tom. i. and Annales Alfordii ad annos ejusdem sæculi. Gibbon, tom. iv.

hold of the imperial crown without any other title than ambition. The murder of Gratian, the lawful Emperor, by which he had secured his usurpation, was punished, however, subsequently by Theodosius the Great, who conquered him at Aquileia and put him to death. After him Eugenius, the creature of Arbozart, who durst not proclaim himself Emperor because he was not a Roman citizen, assumed the purple in Gaul, and was likewise vanquished and beheaded by Theodosius about 394. In the third place, shortly before the time which we are considering, Constantine, a common soldier, who had been saluted Emperor in Britain, had passed over into Gaul, taken possession of it, removed the imperial residence from Treves to Arles, and had engaged successfully with the barbarians, was at last subdued by the General of Honorius and murdered on his road to Rome. Other tyrants[1] succeeded him for a very short time in Gaul, but Constantius soon put them down, and restored the greater part of that country to Honorius, the son of Theodosius. Some provinces in the West were conceded to the Gothic king Wallia.

During these changes Rome had been taken and sacked by Alaric, the King of the Goths. This year, 418, Zozimus, the Pope, died, and was succeeded by Bonifacius. Zozimus himself had succeeded to Innocent, a pontiff remarkable for his opposition to the growing heresy of Pelagius. Two councils

[1] Their character is described briefly by Sidonius in these words: "In Constantino inconstantiam, in Jovino facilitatem, in Gerontio perfidiam, singula in singulis, omnia in Dardano crimina simul exsecrabantur." Ep. ix. B. v. p. 32.

had been held in Innocent's time, about 416, against Pelagianism, one at Carthage, another at Milevum in Numidia, where St. Augustine of Hippo presided. Innocent had ratified the decrees of these councils, which had formally condemned the authors of the heresy. These circumstances are considered by the defenders of the Papal prerogative as decisive in favour of the claims of the Apostolic See; they occurred only two years before German's elevation. The next year Pelagius had made a public abjuration of his errors in a letter to Innocent, the contents of which are the best explanation of the dangers with which his doctrines threatened the Church.[1] Zozimus, the next Pope, had been imposed upon by Celestius, the companion of Pelagius, a circumstance which some divines have exaggerated into an imputation of indulgence towards heresy, while Alford, a divine of another school, maintains, with some reason, that Zozimus proscribed the Pelagian heresy at the very same time. His successor Bonifacius, the same year 418, engaged Honorius to write a public letter to the Pretorian Prefect, to extirpate Pelagianism and banish the supporters of it for ever. The sentence was to extend over all the empire. To add one more prominent fact to this brief sketch, we may observe that St. Jerome was still alive, as well as St. Augustine. St. Chrysostom had died a few years before in banishment. The writings of these three fathers, perhaps the most celebrated in history, were doubtless the study of the new Bishop, next to the Holy Scriptures, which he appears to have searched forthwith with the greatest diligence.

[1] Vid. apud Alford. Ad An. 417.

We have seen that when St. Amator ordained German in the Church before all the people, he invested him with the religious habit, as his biographer calls it, that is, the monastic dress. From this circumstance some have thought that he became an actual monk.[1] But this seems to be a mistake. There was no monastery then at Auxerre ; St. German was the first to institute one at a future period.[2] Nor did he ever become monk himself, though he continued to wear the dress of that profession during the thirty years of his Episcopate. This was no uncommon practice. St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, had always worn the monastic habit. But the office of Bishop was kept distinct from the character of monk.[3] By the outward appearance, a stranger might not discover whether a man was an ecclesiastic, a monk, or a penitent, as is shown by a question put by Sidonius Apollinaris to a friend. But at this time the governors of the Church were zealous in keeping the clerical body distinct from the cœnobitic, the more so, as there was a growing tendency in the Western Church to fill the ecclesiastical ranks with men taken from monasteries at the expense frequently of adequate preparation, and of the order which distinguished the degrees. Hence in some sharp letters of Zozimus and Celestine, the monks are emphatically denominated by the term of laymen, which indeed was fully applicable to them before St. Benedict's time.

[1] Among these, Alford, in his Annals.

[2] These points are satisfactorily explained in Boschius' Comment. Præv. ch. v. apud Bolland., 31 Jul.

[3] Lib. iv. Ep. xxiv. p. 404.

The circumstances of German's elevation to the Bishopric of Auxerre are so striking, and, together with other instances somewhat similar, have given occasion to such discordant opinions, that it may not be out of place to compare one or two parallel accounts left to us by contemporary writers. It is unquestionably false to say with a modern writer, "that the election of Bishops had not the characteristics of a real institution, that it was destitute of rules, of permanent and legal forms, and abandoned to the chance of circumstances and passions."[1] It is perhaps nearer to the truth to say, that there existed a real standard of order, and a received body of apostolical canons, but that they were not as yet considered invariably obligatory, and were in some particulars often dispensed with in emergencies.[2] The history of St. Ambrose is well known. After the death of Auxentius, the Arian Bishop of Milan, the people, the Clergy, and the Bishops of the Province, had met in the cathedral to elect a successor. The confusion was very great, and the divisions of the Orthodox and the Arians impeded the decision. A violent tumult ensued, when Ambrose, the civil governor of Milan, arrived. He was not much above thirty years old. Having learnt the cause of the disturbance, he entered the cathedral, and addressed the people in order to pacify them. His appearance and manner pleased the multitude, and it is reported that a child screamed out in the Church, "Ambrose is Bishop." The meet-

[1] Guizot, France, tom. i. Leçon 3.

[2] See Hallier. De Sacris electionibus et ordinationibus. P. ii. S. i. Ch. i.

ing was not dissolved before Ambrose was proclaimed Bishop with one consent.[1] What renders this election still more extraordinary than that of German is, that Ambrose was not yet a Christian, but only a Catechumen. He was then baptized, and eight days after consecrated.

Ambrose's election took place about fifty years before that of German. Sidonius Apollinaris relates a similar example which occurred about fifty years after. The Bishop of Bourges, in France, was dead, and the ardour of competitors and factions was so great, that the whole town was thrown into confusion.[2] Thereupon Sidonius, lately made Bishop himself of Clermont in Auvergne, and distinguished for his birth, wealth, eloquence, and science, was requested by the inhabitants of Bourges to repair to their city to make choice of a successor for them. Sidonius took with him some other Bishops, and proceeded to Bourges. Having assembled the people and clergy, he pronounced a discourse to them in which he reviewed those classes of persons against whom objections might be raised. "A monk," he said, "will be considered unequal to fulfil the double part of intercessor with God and civil magistrate; and there are not wanting many among the people and clergy who entertain invidious prejudices against the whole order. Again, if I chose from the clergy, immediately jealousy and contempt will be excited. Should I decide for one invested with military offices and honours, what accusations of partiality to a profession through which I have

[1] See Church of the Fathers. Hallier, P. ii. S. i. Ch. i. St. Paulin. Vita Ambrosii.

[2] Sid. Ap. B. vii. Lett. ix.

myself passed!" He then proceeded to give the description of the person he thought fit to succeed to the Bishopric. He was a layman, he was even a soldier, he was married and had offspring; but then he was a zealous friend of the Church, the defender of her rights, and he had built a temple to God at his own expense; he was moreover of noble birth, in affluence, kind, charitable, mature in age and mind, and especially too modest to desire the sacred dignity, a circumstance which made him the more deserving. Such was Simplicius, who forthwith was consecrated Bishop of Bourges, and Metropolitan of the Province.[1]

Many other instances similar to these might be quoted, to show that German's election was not a solitary example. But after all, they were mere exceptions and irregularities, and indicative of that spirit of toleration and expansion with which the Church suffered deviations from her canons in cases of necessity. As well might it be said that there is no established form for Baptism, because in extreme emergencies the ministry of a layman is allowed to supply that of a clergyman, as that these exceptions prove the want of canonical rules in the ordinations of ecclesiastics. Different Churches might have different customs on minor points, but in all essentials the consent was uniform in Christendom. It was embodied in what Pope Celestine calls the Decrees of the Fathers (Decreta Patrum), and was appealed to as *the* Ecclesiastical Custom.[2]

Modern philosophy does not appear to have exer-

[1] See other parallel cases in Guizot's France. Leçon 3.

[2] Ep. ii. § 3, apud Labb. Concil. tom. iii. p. 482.

cised all its ingenuity as yet upon the period which we are considering, otherwise we might expect some clever theory to prove that a transition like that of German from a high civil magistracy to a clerical office, was the effect, not of Divine intervention, or of any desire to promote the welfare of the Church, but of mere fear and the pressure of worldly circumstances. Constantine the tyrant would be cited to show that the easiest way to escape the vengeance of enemies was to assume the clerical coat.[1] The words of Sidonius, who in the perils of civil war observed that the nobility had resolved to seek their safety in the ecclesiastical state or in banishment, would be appealed to with confidence. And among those whom in fact fear and policy had driven into the clergy, the illustrious saints whose examples edified the whole Church, would be indiscriminately ranked. Attempts of this kind have been made to rob the City of God in patriarchal times of her blessed succession of witnesses. Nor would it be more extraordinary if the transition of German were attributed to the growing ascendency of the barbarians, the changeableness of Court intrigues, or the worldly advantage to be derived from a station which engaged the esteem of the people while the civil authorities daily lost their influence. However, the subsequent life of German is a sufficient answer to such intimations, were they made, as we shall see in the following chapter.

[1] Vid. Annals Alford, ad Annum, 410–11.

CHAPTER VI

GERMAN'S CHARACTER AND MODE OF LIFE

It is difficult to conceive anything more surprising and sudden than the change which took place in German. St. Paul, whose conversion is the type of wonderful changes, yet was earnest, ascetic, strict from the very first.[1] He had always lived according to the straitest sect of his religion a Pharisee. But German had been surrounded with the luxury and comforts of the world, courted by all, accustomed to command, not to serve, and lulled in the arms of domestic happiness. Like Jonah he might have "made himself a booth and sat under it in the shadow to see what would become of the city" of God. Instead of this, he at once girded up his loins and prepared to take an active part in the spiritual warfare of the Church. Let us attend to the account given by Constantius, his biographer. He immediately resigned his civil appointment, dismissed his numerous attendants, sacrificed the splendid and pleasant possessions of his wealth, gave away his substance to the poor, and enlisted himself in their company. His wife Eustachia became his sister. It is uncertain whether she continued to dwell under the same roof or retired to

[1] *πρὸς ὑποτύπωσιν τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν.* 1 Tim. i. 16.

a religious house. The circumstances of his future life seem to imply the latter, for he travelled much, and her presence on those occasions is not noticed, nay, must have been noticed in some, had she kept him company. However, there was nothing to share with him. His table was seldom spread for himself, his days were employed in the duties of his office, his nights were spent in prayer and meditation.[1]

With regard to his austerities, much of course was concealed from the public gaze, as is remarked of our own George Herbert; but though he ever strove to avoid observation, yet as a city built on a hill cannot remain hid, so the brightness of his sanctity shone through all reserve, and spread a glow over his least actions. What was ascertained may be briefly summed up as follows: From the day on which he began his ministry to the end of his life, that is, for the space of thirty years, he was so spare in his diet, that he never ate wheaten bread, never touched wine, vinegar, oil, or vegetables, nor ever made use of salt to season his food. On the nativity and resurrection of our Lord alone he allowed himself one draught of wine diluted with water, so as to preserve little of its flavour. Meat was out of the question; he lived more rigorously than any monk, and in those early times no meat was allowed to monks in France, except in the most urgent cases of debility and sickness.[2] What he did take was mere barley bread, which he had

[1] "Vitabat suorum solatia." Const. again "Convivium *jejunus pastor* exhibuit."

[2] See Calmet, Règle de St. Benoît, tom. i. 564.

winnowed and ground himself. First, however, he took some wood-ashes, and, by way of humiliation, tasted them. Severe as was this diet, it appears almost miraculous when we are told that he never ate at all but twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and in the evening of those days; nay, that generally he abstained entirely till the seventh day.[1]

His clothing was the same in winter and in summer, simply the cuculla and the tunic. What these were in the fifth century we learn from Cassian, a contemporary writer.[2] The *cuculla*, he says, was a small hood for the head, ending in a point and falling down over the neck as far as the shoulders. In process of time this dress changed very considerably. The *tunic* was a mere shirt, which the ancients wore next to the skin and generally without sleeves. Cassian describes the monks with linen tunics, which he calls *colobia*, the sleeves of which descended only to the elbow. But he is describing the monastic habit of the Egyptians, and it is probable that when the same

[1] That this is the true sense of the passage is proved by another of the same author Constantius. B. ii. ch. 66. "Cujus inediam septimus plerumque dies pane tantum hordeaceo recreabat." See Bosch. Boll. ad locum Const.

[2] "Cucullis perparvis usque ad cervicis humerorumque demissis confinia, quibus tantum capita contegant, indesinenter utuntur diebus ac noctibus." Quoted by Camlet, Règle de St. Benoît, ch. lv. tom. ii.

"Colobiis lineis induti quæ vix ad cubitorum ima pertingunt, nudas de reliquo circumferunt manus." Ibid.

Cassian travelled into Egypt, and founded afterwards a monastic house at Marseilles, after the model of Egypt. On the subject of the Egyptian monks, see the abstract of Fleury, tom. v. Liv. 20, p. 20, &c. See also Liv. 24, p. 600, &c. See also Heliot, tom. i. p. 163.

pattern was adopted from them in Gaul, the tunic was made of wool or coarse stuff. It covered the whole body and reached to the feet. Under this, however, German wore the badge of the religious profession, the hair-cloth (cilicium), which never left him. He seldom bought a new dress, but wore the old till it was nearly in rags, unless perchance he parted with it to some person in distress whom he had no other means of relieving.

His bed was even more uninviting than his dress. Four planks, in the form of an oblong, contained a bed of ashes, which they prevented from being dispersed. By the continual pressure of the body they had become hard, and presented a surface as rough as stone. On this he lay with his hair-cloth alone, and another coarse cloth for a coverlet.[1] No pillow supported his head, his whole body lay flat on the painful couch. He did not take off his garment to sleep, and seldom even loosened the girdle or took off his shoes. Neither did he ever part with a leathern belt which fastened to his chest a little box containing the relics of the saints. This, his only treasure, he valued above all earthly things. The relics were those of all the Apostles and of different Martyrs. At a sub-

[1] "Sagulum." See Calmet, tom. ii. p. 268. Also Bosch. Boll. Not. ad § 75. "Sagulum ego indumentum hic intelligi nullum existimo sed lodicem seu stragulum quâ noctu obtectus dormiebat."

As there appears a slight inconsistency as the text of Constantius stands, viz.: "Stratum omne, *subjecto cilicio*, et superposito uno tantum sagulo, fuit. Noctibus nunquam vestitum, raro cingulum, raro calceamenta detraxit;" we might almost suspect *cilicio* had been written for *silice* or *cinere*, alluding to the hard ashes. Lipoman, Surius, the Bollandists have, however, all *cilicio*.

sequent period he took some from them to deposit in the tomb of St. Alban at Verulam, in Britain; and it was this little box which the Empress Placidia so eagerly desired when German died at Ravenna. His sleep was such as might be expected from these austerities; it was neither long nor uninterrupted. Frequently after the example of our Lord he would pass the whole night in prayer; and it should seem that these holy vigils had a peculiar efficacy in his case, which manifested itself in the following mornings by miracles and extraordinary deeds. These midnight watchings were divided between the tears and groans of penitence and hymns of praise and intercessions. In this manner, says his biographer, as we have before remarked, did the blessed German expiate any past errors into which human infirmity may have led him, and set the example of a sudden and transcendent holiness.

According to the Apostolic precept he was "given to hospitality." His house was open to every one, and he paid no regard to the quality of the visitor. Faithful to the lesson taught by our Lord Himself, he washed the feet of his guests with his own hands and then prepared a feast which all partook of but the ascetic German. It is often said at the present day that there is cowardice and want of faith in retiring from the world to avoid temptation, and that to bury religion in monastic seclusion is to perform but one part of the Christian Law, which commands us to love our neighbours as ourselves. Here then German might obtain the approbation of modern objectors. He did not

leave the world as far as outward things are concerned. His whole Episcopate was passed amid the tumult and concourse of men, with the exception of those hours he spent among the Brotherhood he instituted, as we shall see. He would fail however in satisfying them, in that he encouraged monastic retirement in others. Nor was it by contenting himself with smaller measures of strictness than a religious rule enforced, that he preserved his conscience spotless in the busy scenes of the world. He lived like St. Anthony and St. Athanasius at the same time.

No distinct account has been left us of the personal appearance of German. All we know is that when his body was removed in the ninth century it was observed that he was of middle stature, and that he had a fine head of hair interspersed with white hairs.[1] In this form we are told he also appeared to a little girl whom he cured of dumbness after his death. As a general remark it may be said that his features were rendered squalid and emaciated by the severe fasts he endured,[2] while at the same time his countenance possessed a dignity which commanded universal respect.[3] Dugdale informs us that in St. German's Priory in Cornwall there was a mutilated impression from the Seal of this monastery. The inscription was gone, but the area on one side represented a few faint traces of the figure of the Saint.

If it may be permitted to assign human reasons,

[1] Hericus de Miraculis, C. v. B. i.
[2] Constantius, C. ii. B. ix. apud Surium.
[3] Ibid. Ch. xxxiii.

where so much was superhuman, we should say German was naturally a healthy person and possessed a robust constitution. Other Saints, by austerities less great than his, were rendered infirm for life. St. Bernard never quite recovered from the effects of his early severities.[1] Forced to be carried about in a carriage, he was subject to temporary weaknesses which greatly impeded his exertions. St. Basil,[2] again, and St. Chrysostom lost the health of their body while the soul seemed to gather fresh vigour for heavenly things.[3] "I cannot number," says the former, "the various affections which have befallen me, my weakness, the violence of the fever, and the bad state of my constitution." German was not apparently subject to this trial. The only sickness we find he endured previous to his last illness was a temporary lameness, produced by a fall, when he sojourned in Britain. Like St. Martin of Tours, he could undertake long expeditions, and mix in the stir and noise of the crowd without inconvenience. All blessings are from God. Daniel was "fairer and fatter in flesh" than all the children which did eat the portion of the king's meat, though he lived on pulse.[4] Perhaps German had not those particular inclinations and habits which needed the humiliation of bodily suffering. The pride of learning, intellect and wisdom, seem to have been checked often by these visitations. St. Paul had a thorn in the flesh, lest he should be too much exalted. St. Basil

[1] Neander's Life of St. Bernard.
[2] Church of the Fathers, p. 114 and 71.
[3] Fleury, Lib. 21, p. 161. [4] Daniel i. 15.

thought he owed much to some such affliction, in being weaned from the seductive philosophy of Athens.[1] German was probably free from these allurements. He became profoundly learned in sacred science, insomuch that St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, esteemed him the best guide for his own early studies of all the teachers of Gaul. Yet he was ignorant of that passionate love for learning as such which seems to have devoured the minds of Origen and others.

It is to be regretted, together with the absence of any external description, that we have no definite account of his particular natural disposition or of his acquirements. It is certainly interesting, if it is not instructive, to learn what characteristics of a more earthly kind were combined with the heavenly virtues of Saints. And the observation is often made, that their example has more hold upon the imagination of the weaker brethren than that of our blessed Lord, for the reason that they were liable to infirmity, and had tastes and feelings which showed them to be mere men. The want of such description is perhaps to be attributed to the fact that his biographer was not personally acquainted with him. He had certain means indeed of obtaining minute information, whether from the monks of Auxerre, who had continual opportunity of seeing him and conversing with him, or from those bishops and men of education who attended him in his last days almost without intermission. But his account is a mere sketch, and what seems

[1] Serm. "De Libris Gentilium Legendis."

important to one writer does not to another; nay, different subjects of consideration occupy different generations; at one time miracles, at another original characters. Then, again, the style of Constantius is poetical, not philosophical, and style is indicative of the train of men's thoughts.

However, thus much appears. From the time of his ordination he applied diligently to the study of the Scriptures, and became so versed in theological matters that he was considered among the Doctors of the time. St. Patrick spent many years under his tuition.[1] The learned suppose him to have committed to writing some of the fruits of his studies. But nothing has remained. His natural eloquence, his learning and practical wisdom, would mark him out as the fittest person to encounter the Pelagians in Britain, even in a synod of prelates, where so many were eminent for talent as well as piety. The event proved the justness of their choice. "His own arguments," we are told, "were interspersed with revealed truth, and while he poured forth in torrents of eloquence the dictates of his conscience, he supported them always with the agreement of what he had read."[2] That there was in his language an elevation and wisdom, which are not indeed to be taken apart from his holy life, but which were the especial cause of the attention paid to his words, is manifest from the unwearied earnestness with which his last discourses were received

[1] This is well authenticated from Probus, Jocelin, Hericus, and others. See Stillingfleet, Orig. p. 211. Ed. 8vo.

[2] Const. ch. xxiii. Surius, B. i.

by the seven Bishops who waited upon him, among whom was the famous St. Peter, surnamed Chrysologus, one of the doctors of the Church and then Bishop of Ravenna.[1] The moral endowments which he evinced before his conversion distinguished him throughout. He retained all his firmness of purpose, courage in difficulties, command over his own will and that of others, presence of mind, penetration, and prudence. But Christianity taught him resignation in suffering, charity which flowed over the least of his actions, forgetfulness of self in common danger, a spirit of reserve strongly contrasted with his former tendency to ostentation.[2]

[1] Conf. also, ch. xxxiii. "Assidebant jugiter obsequentes sex venerabiles sacerdotes." "Dum cum Episcopis sermones conferret de religione."

[2] "Sed semper secreti obumbratione notitiam suppressit." Ch. xvi. Surius.

CHAPTER VII

ST. GERMAN FOUNDS A MONASTERY

ONE of the first acts which displayed German's zeal for the Church over which he was appointed, was also highly characteristic of the age in which he lived. The fifth century was the period which introduced the monastic system in Gaul and other Western countries. The East had got the start of a hundred years. German was the first to institute it at Auxerre. No positive declaration of the causes which led him to found a monastery has been transmitted, except that which was obvious enough to a Saint of those times, "the advancement of religion."[1] But it requires very little stretch of imagination to understand the chain of circumstances which gave the impulse. First, however, let us ascertain the fact itself.

At the north-east of Auxerre, separated by the river Yonne from the town itself, as it then was, he built the first monastery which had been seen in that district. It was dedicated to St. Cosmas and St. Damianus, Martyrs, and subsequently obtained the name of St. Germans. Afterwards it again changed its appellation and was called St. Marian, from one of the holy brethren who gave

[1] Ad profectum religionis. Const.

lustre to the institution. This is not the monastery which was celebrated as the Abbey St. Germans of Auxerre at a later period, the fame of which far eclipsed St. Marian. St. Marian, however, was the original foundation, and under its vaults the body of German himself reposed, until it was translated to the larger convent in the ninth century. It is now no longer standing, one column alone exists to testify the spot of its situation. But before it fell into ruin one might have seen the very cell of the good Bishop, where he retired when he visited the monastery. It could be entered only by a small opening and in a kneeling posture. This place was the witness of his many prayers and mortifications. St. Allodius, probably the same who succeeded him in the Bishopric, was the first Abbot or Archimandrite, as he was called; and after him St. Mamertinus was elected, the conversion of whom holds a prominent rank in the history of our Saint. These are the only Abbots known before the twelfth century, when the order of the Premonstrants was established at St. Marian. After various changes the monastery was finally destroyed by the Calvinists in 1567, among the other acts of their sacrilegious fury.

We must now return to those causes which doubtless influenced German's mind, and which will furnish the most satisfactory explanation to be obtained concerning the rule and discipline of the new monastery.

There were at this time three principal religious houses in France, that of Marmoutier, near Tours, instituted by St. Martin, that of St. Victor, at Mar-

seilles, founded by Cassian, and that of Lerins, an island to the south of France, where St. Honoratus retired. Which of these was the model of that at Auxerre? Not Marmoutier, because it had scarcely any rule at all in its origin. Lerins, on the other hand, in process of time adopted the constitutions of Cassian as well as St. Victor. The rule of Cassian which he established at Marseilles was that which attracted the chief notice, and we shall see that there were many associations which would particularly recommend it to German. But we must take up the subject somewhat higher.

Enmity to institutions as well as to men and persuasions is an active principle which exercises the human ingenuity in the discovery of everything which tells against the devoted object. But love is one of far greater energy, as it never faileth, "and endureth all things;"[1] it is ever ardent and indefatigable in the support of the cause it has espoused. Much, then, has been written to weaken the foundations of monasticism, but much more has been written for the establishment of its claims. Indeed, if any plausible work has been composed to throw discredit upon it, the labours of love have furnished apparently the chief materials; and as heretics learn even the history of heresy from the Church, the enemies of the cœnobitic life have gained their information from its very advocates. This persuasion may afford sufficient ground for the view here taken of its origin.[2]

Four modifications of the monastic system are

[1] 1 Corinth. xiii.

[2] See Fleury. Discours Hist. Eccl. Héliot, Discours préliminaire.

observable in the early ages. The ascetics, properly so called, are its first representatives. They existed in the times of the Apostles; nay, they were always in the Church, under the Judaic dispensation before the Christian. Celibacy, fasting, prayer, silence, watching, and mortification, were the practice of their profession. It does not appear that in the earliest times of Christianity they separated from the general community. The Church itself, when compared with the rest of the world, was a monastery. And while the fervour of the whole body countenanced strictness and austerity, separation was superseded. When the numbers of Christians increased, and all ranks, professions, and pursuits acknowledged the standard of the cross, the temptations of the world entered into the Church's bosom. This was the signal for the first general retreat. The hermits, or anchorites, forthwith fixed their abode in the deserts. Nor did their behaviour meet with any disapprobation. They were called the people of God in a special sense, their example was professed from the pulpit to the multitude, and their prayers were allowed to have a peculiar efficacy for the rest of the world.

Such were the two first stages of the monastic spirit. When the hermits had filled the deserts, they began to draw near to each other, and to fix their habitations or cells in close vicinity to each other. These religious societies abounded in Egypt during the fourth century. They resembled little cities, where each man had his own house, and all met, morning and evening, to pray together. St. Martin's monastery, at Tours, was at first nothing

else than a community of this kind. Finally, in the midst of these, arose in Egypt the fourth class of monks, those which were destined to prevail—the Cœnobites. They cast all their substance into one common stock, assembled under one roof, conformed to one rule, and submitted to one superior. The Abbot, or Archimandrite, thus obtained a distinct position. After this model have all future monastic institutions been framed, though there were in the fourth and fifth centuries some characteristics which do not exist at present.[1] There seems to be reason in the remark of a modern historian, that a principle of liberty was the basis of monasteries at their origin. No obligation of perpetual residence, other than that of decency, obtained. A set of devout persons congregated to practise a rule of life impracticable in the world; but they were not, at least in the west, bound by vows before the sixth century, when St. Benedict founded his order. There were even instances when those who had attained a high degree of perfection retired from their monastery to live the life of hermits. Another prominent feature of the institution was, that monks were regarded as laymen, and had actually few among them who were ordained. Like other classes of men distinct from the clergy, they were subject to the same kind of episcopal jurisdiction; nor had they for a long time any appointed priests for themselves, but were members of the diocese and parish in which they lived, and attended one common church with the rest of the

[1] Guizot, France.

people. Many reasons, however, would have, and in fact did supervene, to require peculiar ministers for themselves, without recurring to the invidious motive of vying with the secular clergy, which is assigned by some. Still it is manifest that till the tenth century the monastic houses were never emancipated from the episcopal rule. In 451, a few years after the foundation of German's monastery, the following canon was enacted by the Council of Chalcedon: "Let those who have sincerely and in truth adopted the solitary life, be honoured as is just. But whereas some, who are in appearance and name monks, throw confusion into the civil and ecclesiastical affairs, by wandering into towns, and attempting to establish of their own accord monasteries, it is decreed that no one shall build or found a monastery or a chapel, without the sanction of the Bishop of the city. Let the monks in every city and country be subject to the Bishops, live quietly, apply themselves to fasting and prayer, and remain on the spot where they have made renunciation of the world. Careless of external things, let them continue in their seclusion, unless the contrary be ordered by the Bishop of the place for some necessary work." Allusion is here made to the Sarabaites and Messalians, fanatics who, under pretence of strictness, committed many excesses, and were generally reprobated by good men. The authority of the Bishop was thus positively declared, while the honour due to the monastic body was sanctioned by the same decree. At that time no exception to episcopal rule was claimed by any appeal to the Pope. If we may attribute partiality

to the see of Rome, it inclined certainly to the side of the clergy against the monks. There are angry expressions on record of Pope Celestine, who lived about this very time. They were called forth by the great tendency of the age to escape from ecclesiastical obedience, and by the excesses of fanaticism. The discipline and order of the hierarchy were the great object at which the Church of Rome aimed in the fifth century. And to this, not to any settled disapprobation of the system, must be attributed the occasional rebukes which the Popes directed against the monks. At Rome, as well as in the rest of Christendom, religious houses had been established, and after the first impression of strangeness had rapidly passed away, obtained the same favour as elsewhere.[1]

Monasticism was introduced into the West in the following manner. In 340, St. Athanasius, during the troubles occasioned by the Arians, came to Rome, and there made known the practices of Antony and other Egyptian monks.[2] Convents were established forthwith in that city. St. Eusebius, of Vercelli, carried out the same plan in other parts of Italy, and soon after Milan followed the example.[3] Hence St. Martin issued to found a monastery at Tours, as we have seen. Two thousand persons in process of time are said to have

[1] The passages alluded to by Guizot, in his endeavour to establish the contrary opinion, can hardly be said to make for him; the opposite inference would be best drawn from them, especially when compared with others of the same writers.

[2] See Gieseler, Church Hist. Monastic System.

[3] Mabillon, Acta S. S. Ord. Ben. Præfat. § 7.

congregated under his discipline.[1] But no fixed rule such as afterwards was instituted determined all their actions. Sulpitius Severus, the biographer of St. Martin, describes their habits after this manner:[2] "St. Martin made himself a monastery about two miles out of the city. So secret and retired was the place, that he did not miss the solitude of the desert. On one side it was bounded by the high and precipitous rock of a mountain, on the other the level was shut in by the river Loire, which makes a gentle bend. There was but one way into it, and that very narrow. His own cell was of wood. Many of the brethren made themselves dwellings of the same kind, but most hollowed out the stone of the mountain which was above them. There were eighty scholars (at that time) who were under training after the pattern of their saintly master. No one had aught his own; all things were thrown into a common stock. It was not lawful, as to most monks, to buy or sell anything. They had no art except that of transcribing, which was assigned to the younger; the older gave themselves up to prayer. They seldom left their cell, except to attend the place of prayer. They took their meal together after the time of fasting. No one tasted wine except compelled by bodily weakness. Most of them were clad in camel's hair;[3] a softer garment was a crime, and

[1] Héliot. Discours prélim. and tom. v. p. 61.

[2] Vid. Transl. Church of the Fathers, and compare the original. Ed. Octav. Lugd. p. 498, 500, 516, 517, 541, 551, 566; the whole of the first dialogue.

[3] See the print in Héliot, tom. i. p. 160.

what of course makes it more remarkable is, that many of them were accounted noble, who, after a very different education, had forced themselves to this humility and patience, and we have lived to see a great many of them *Bishops*."[1]

There was indeed much in this institution which would influence the feelings of German, but it was as yet too indefinite to be used as a model for his own, and something more to the purpose had been introduced in his time by Cassian, from which Marmoutier itself may afterwards have borrowed. Cassian, according to some, was a Scythian by birth; but more probably he was a native of Provence, in France. In his early youth he went to Palestine, and then became a monk at Bethlehem. After this, with one companion, he visited the deserts of Egypt, and familiarised himself with the habits of the chief orders of solitaries.[2] He then went to Constantinople, was ordained deacon by St. Chrysostom, and passing through Rome, came into France, and stopped at Marseilles, where he received the Priesthood and built a monastery in honour of St. Peter and St. Victor the Martyr. This was in 409. He also founded a convent for women. He introduced the customs of the Egyptian monks; and his rule, which he explained in his books concerning monastic institutions, became the chief pattern in France till the reform of St. Benedict. The most famous monastery of all, namely that of Lerins, which St. Honoratus founded a year after that of St. Victor,

[1] Sacerdotes. That this is the sense of the word in the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, see Ducange ad vocem.

[2] Héliot, tom. v. p. 154. Fleury, Hist. Eccl. Lib. xxiv.

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in 410, certainly borrowed many of its regulations from Cassian, who began to write about 420. And with this establishment German would have been well acquainted from a variety of sources, among which was his intimacy with St. Hilary of Arles, who had been Abbot of Lerins, and St. Lupus of Troyes, once a monk of the same place, and the brother of the famous Vincentius Lirinensis.

Although the works of Cassian convey the most definite idea to be obtained of the rise of Monasticism in Gaul, yet the introduction of Egyptian customs there described naturally was attended with some changes, owing to the climate and different education of the natives. Moreover, it is the remark of the writer himself, that no uniform plan was carried out in any country, and that there were nearly as many forms and rules as there were cells and monasteries. And such was the state of things till St. Benedict, in the sixth century, brought in a more perfect code. Till then, the superior's will was sometimes the law; sometimes custom and tradition authorised any particular form; again, sometimes a few statutes were written. The unanimity and consent of the monks was the pledge of their obedience and conformity, as perhaps would be the case were the monastic system reviving in our own country. There was, so to say, but one order of monks at the time, all subjected to one main law, renunciation of the world and ascetic life. Nevertheless a type existed of all the institutions of the fourth and fifth centuries; namely, the Egyptian cœnobites. St. Basil adopted their usages in Asia Minor, St. Athanasius brought them into repute in

Italy, and Cassian established them in Gaul. The principal alterations which were here made regarded the food and clothing of the Western monks. The natives of Gaul could not content themselves with the very scanty allowance of the Egyptians, nor could they endure the cold of a northern climate without additional covering.[1] "We cannot," said Cassian, "be content with simple socks, and with one tunic, on account of the severity of the winter, and so small a hood as the Egyptians wear, would provoke laughter rather than edify the people." Moreover, the practice of manual labour was frequently laid aside, and reading and writing substituted. Thus, under St. Martin, the monks had been taught to transcribe books. Lerins, it is well known, was the seat of learning and literary occupations. Another deviation not to be overlooked was the use recommended by Cassian of daily prayers in common, after the example of some monks in Palestine. For whereas the Egyptians only assembled for nocturns and vespers, other eastern monks observed the hours also of tierce, sext, and nones.[2]

It would exceed the limits of these pages to enter into further details concerning the customs of these religious institutions. The spirit, however, which presided over them may be in part understood by the following sketch of the Egyptians extracted from Cassian's works.[3] "They came together," he

[1] The saying was: "Edacitas in Græcis gula est, in Gallis natura." Sulp. Sever.

[2] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. Lib. xxiv.

[3] See Fleury, Hist. Eccl. Lib. xx., and more at length, Cellier, Aut. Eccl. tom. xiii.

says, "to pray at evening and night, and each time recited twelve Psalms, according to the instructions given, as they believed, to their forefathers, by an angel who came and sang eleven Psalms among them, with a prayer after each, and then added a twelfth, with an Alleluja, after which he disappeared. They read also two lessons, one out of the Old Testament and one out of the New; except on Saturdays, Sundays, and the Easter season, at which times they only read the New Testament, at one lesson the Epistles or the Acts, at the other the Gospels. After each Psalm they prayed standing, with their hands extended, then prostrated themselves for an instant, and arose immediately for fear of falling asleep, copying the motions of him who directed the prayers. A profound silence reigned in the assembly, however large it might be. One voice alone was heard, namely, that of the Chanter who recited the Psalm, or of the Priest who said the Prayer. The Chanter stood upright; the rest were seated on low stools, because their fasting and labour rendered them unfit for a standing posture. If the Psalms were long, they divided them, desirous not to recite much and rapidly, but to pay great attention. The signal for prayer was given by a horn, and one was appointed to awake the brethren for the nightly prayer. On Saturdays and Sundays they assembled at nine in the morning for the Holy Communion."[1]

[1] It does not appear that Saturday was ever kept up in the West, as it was in the East, with that reverence which the Jewish Sabbath had taught the Eastern nation.

CHAPTER VIII

ST. GERMAN AND ST. MAMERTINUS

ONE day as German was coming out at the door of the monastery he had founded, he was met by a young man who had lost the sight of one of his eyes and the use of an arm. The young man, on perceiving him, fell down at his feet and did obeisance.[1] German had been apprised by Divine communication of the visit, and when the stranger earnestly entreated his assistance, he answered, "Be not afraid, but have confidence," and stretching out his hand, raised the suppliant and kissed him on the chin. But the stranger drew back, exclaiming, "Far be it from thee, O man of God; my lips as yet are not purified from the embrace of the devil's altars." "Nay," returned German, "I am assured that this very night thou hast been purged from this pollution." The Bishop then took him by the hand, and led him through the monastery into the cell which he had reserved for himself, whenever he came to the place.[2] He there made him sit down, and questioned him on the cause of his arrival. Not satisfied with the account he received, he rebuked the young man for concealing

[1] "Quem procidens in terram adoravi."—Const.

[2] See Hericus de Mir. 22.

some important circumstance, adding that he had been acquainted already with everything. He afterwards conducted him to the town of Auxerre, and entered the church, where the clergy and a number of laymen were assembled. In the hearing of all he then desired the stranger to give a complete relation of all that had happened to him. Whereupon the young man, who perceived nothing could be concealed, addressed the multitude in the following manner :—[1]

"My name is Mamertinus: I was a servant of idols, and an ardent worshipper of Jupiter and the rest of the false gods, insomuch that it was with difficulty I could be dragged away from their images. On one occasion, while I was paying my wretched veneration to their statues, suddenly I lost the sight of one of my eyes, and one of my hands withered up. Supposing I had incurred their displeasure by some transgression, I poured forth abundant tears of penitence, and implored their forgiveness. As I was one day returning to the temple of the gods to repeat my lamentations, I was met by one Sabinus, who was clad in the habit of a monk, and wore the tonsure. After we had exchanged some words, he asked the cause of my affliction, and the religion I professed. 'The religion of Jupiter, Mercury, and Apollo and the other gods,' was my answer, 'and I am hastening to obtain absolution and soundness of body at their altars.' 'You err,' replied Sabinus, 'because you know not the truth, and this is the real cause of

[1] Mamertinus published the account himself, and it is inserted in Constantius's Life of St. German.

your sufferings. Had those gods whom you worship any knowledge and understanding, they would not remain blind, dumb, deaf, void of smelling, motionless, mutilated, or bound with iron and lead, as we see them. Of them does the Holy Scripture speak when it says,[1] "They have mouths and speak not; eyes have they and see not; they have ears and hear not; noses have they and smell not." And with regard to their worshippers, the same Psalmist proceeds to say, "They that make them are like unto them, and so are all such as put their trust in them." Consider the punishment prepared for worshippers of statues, and then apply it to yourself. If you would recover your sight and touch, follow my injunctions. In the Church of Auxerre there is a man of eminent holiness, called German (whose minister I am among the clergy). Christ manifests Himself to him as it were face to face, and the most wonderful cures are performed by him. Leave your idols, and go seek him there.'

"I thanked Sabinus, and desired him to direct me to the Bishop he thus commended. Pleased at my readiness, he guided me to an elevation called Mons Matogenes, and thence showed me my road in the plain beneath. When he had left me I proceeded with some alacrity. And though the rain had not ceased to fall from sunrise to sunset, and my garments were soaked, nevertheless I continued boldly my journey. About five o'clock, however, as the night was drawing on, the rain increased with such violence, and the darkness

[1] Ps. cxv.

became so profound, that I was unable to discern my way. It was with difficulty I arrived at the Cemetery.[1] The rain fell in torrents, and repeated lightnings rent the clouds. I was in great anxiety to find a place of refuge. At last, by the constant glare of the lightning, I discerned a small cell in which there was a tomb. Having entered, and finding nothing else to rest myself upon, I laid me down on the tomb itself, ignorant of the remains it covered. Hardly had I entered, when a sudden light, equal to that of the day, shone through the cell. Not curious about the cause of it, I placed my little basket under my head, my staff at my side, and fell fast asleep.

"The thunder awoke me soon after, and lo! I beheld at the entrance of the cell a young man in white and glittering garments. Struck with awe at the apparition, I turned myself round and lay flat upon the tomb. Prompted by fear, I gave vent to this prayer: 'O God of the Christians, whom German doth serve in holiness, and who hast granted him that virtue which I am about to seek, deliver me from the dread which has seized my mind.' While I thus prayed, the young man at the door exclaimed in a voice full of the sweetest melody: 'Holy Corcodemus, holy Corcodemus, Levite of Christ.'[2] When he had uttered these words an answer came from the tomb: 'I know who thou art, and hear thy voice; tell me, I pray thee, brother Florentinus, what wilt thou with

[1] The Mons Autricus mentioned before.

[2] The Levites under the Judaic Law being inferior to the Priests, the term would apply to the Deacons under the Christian Dispensation.

me?' Florentinus replied: 'Rise up quickly. The blessed Bishop Peregrine,[1] with the rest of his company, are assembled in the Church to perform their vigils. St. Amator desires thou wilt also come to their meeting.' 'Nay, beloved brother,' returned Corcodemus, 'return to the blessed Bishop and give him this message: I am not able to leave this cell to-night, because I am entertaining a stranger; there is a nest of savage animals about the place who are only waiting for my departure to devour him. May God not deprive me of the benefit of your nightly office. There are two Sub-deacons,[2] my fellows, besides me, Alexander and Jovian, and Jovinianus is Lector. Report this, I pray thee, to the holy Bishops.'

"The young man then retired. The mysterious nature of their discourse made my blood run cold. Sleep, however, soon regained my wearied limbs. Some time before daybreak I thought I again saw the young man at the entrance of the cell. He called to Corcodemus, saying: 'The holy Bishops, Peregrine and Amator, before they separate, intend to celebrate a Votive Mass,[3] and have sent me to invite thee to come and fulfil thy appointed ministry.[4] If thou art anxious for thy guest's safety, Alexander

[1] Peregrine the first Bishop of Auxerre. See above.

[2] Hence it appears that the Sub-deacons were a proper substitute for the Deacons at ordinary offices. But for the Mass, it was necessary the Deacon should be present, as is shown a little below.

[3] *i.e.* the Eucharist performed out of the usual time by voluntary impulse. See Ducange ad vocem. One might conjecture it originated in the expression of our Lord: "With desire I have desired to eat this supper with you."

[4] Corcodemus had been Deacon in his lifetime, as was before shown.

can relieve thee. But they request thee to bring Jovian the sub-deacon, and Jovinian the Lector.' After this the tomb opened, and there came forth a man of beautiful appearance clad in garments of the whitest wool. He left the cell and found at the door three others dressed in white, whom he saluted and called by their respective names. Then he addressed Alexander: 'Peregrine and Amator have commanded me to go to them, do thou preside in this cell to guard the stranger from the savage reptile, with her crew of seven.'

"Afterwards I thought in my vision that the blessed Deacon took me by the hand, saying, 'Come thou also, stranger, to the Mass.' We then went together to the Church, where I beheld around the altar five persons standing, dressed in splendid robes. I asked Corcodemus the names of those who ministered at the altar. He answered: 'He that is standing in the middle is the Bishop and Martyr, St. Peregrine,[1] with whom I myself was sent from Rome by command of Pope Sixtus.[2] The two persons at his right hand are Amator and Marcellianus, both Bishops, and those at his left Elladius and Valerianus, all of which succeeded St. Peregrine in their turn.'[3] The Deacon then left me and advanced towards them. Then I thought I heard St. Amator speak to the Deacon, saying:[4]

[1] See a previous chapter.

[2] Sixtus II. in the middle of the third century. Vid. supra.

[3] Hence it appears the middle of the altar was the chief place: it is here assigned to the Founder.

[4] It was usual for one of the minor clergy, before the service of the Eucharist, to order the Catechumens to retire, as they were not allowed to be present at the mysteries. Stilling. 229.

'Enjoin silence, brother, that undisturbed we may perform our office, for our brother Peregrine is in haste to return to Baugy,[1] and on his account we must celebrate the Sacrifice somewhat earlier.'[2]

"Silence was then proclaimed and the Catechumens' dismissal announced. In the meanwhile I remained in secret awe at the novelty of the mystery. Not daring to advance to the place where the Mass was celebrated, I stood where the Deacon had left me. Then St. Peregrine questioned Corcodemus about me. 'He is my guest,' said the Deacon; 'in order to protect him I refrained from attending upon you before.' After this I was brought up into their presence. My whole appearance was different from theirs: they were dressed in white robes and I was in black. While I was musing on this difference, a voice addressed by one of the Bishops to Corcodemus resounded in my ears. 'Separate the stranger from our assembly and drive him from the Church; he is unworthy to participate in this ordinance of grace, for he is a servant of idols.' The Deacon was going to obey, when I fell at his feet and used these entreaties: 'I pray thee, friend of God, to intercede for me with the Bishops, that they may have pity on me and break asunder the bonds of demons which shackle me.' I was then presented to them, and Corcodemus received orders to place his hand upon my head.[3] After a second Imposition of hands from

[1] Or Boüy, in Burgundy, where Peregrine had been buried. See Chap. III.

[2] "Consummare Sacrificium."

[3] The Catechumens were not blessed by the Bishop but by the Deacon, Confirmation being a subsequent ordinance for the baptized. —Conf. Newman's Arians, p. 49.

the Deacon, the Prelates instructed me in the duties of my condition and the ceremonies which I might assist at. Then they enjoined my guide to conduct me back to his cell and send me at daybreak to German, whose office it was to impart spiritual grace to me. We then retired.

"Before we entered the cell I thought I fell down at the feet of the Deacon, and desired him to tell me how many years had passed since he came to rest in it. 'After the martyrdom of the blessed Peregrine,[1] on the third day of the same month, but not till some years had elapsed, did I leave this world to meet the Lord. I and my brothers had wished to be partakers of his sufferings, inasmuch as we had been entrusted with the same commission.[2] But not long after an Emperor was created,[3] distinguished for his Christian profession, who put an end to the persecution, opened again all the churches, and appointed orthodox bishops. We thus failed in our desires. My companions were Marsus the Presbyter, Alexander, and Jovian. Here they buried me. They afterwards, as I learned by divine intimation,[4] died as Confessors of the Faith. Jovinian, however, the Lector, by God's permission, obtained the crown of martyrdom.'[5]

[1] St. Peregrine's martyrdom was May 16, during the persecution of Diocletian. Some, however, place it under the Decian persecution, nearly fifty years before, erroneously as it appears from Tillemont, tom. iv. Mem. p. 481.

[2] Of converting Gaul. See Chap. III.

[3] Constantine the Great.

[4] Comp. August. "De Curâ pro mortuis gerendâ."

[5] Concerning these Saints, the most accurate account is to be found in Tillemont, Mem. vol. iv. p. 480.

"All these things seemed to take place in my sleep. On my awaking, immediately the cock crew.[1] Remembering the circumstances of the vision, I made the Sign of the Cross on my forehead, as I had been instructed, and lying prostrate on the sepulchre prayed in this manner with tears in my eyes: 'O Lord God of Israel, who dwellest on high and beholdest all things below, and considerest from afar great things; beside whom there is no God;[2] Thou who didst visit this earth to recover the human race, and didst abide among men; by whose merciful direction I this night, unworthy as I am, have learnt the secret of my salvation: grant that I may without delay be brought into the presence of German, towards whom I have been so far guided.' I then rose up and turned my eyes towards the Basilica,[3] where I beheld a large light which spread within and around it. At the same time a voice issued in chants and hymns. I stopped to listen. The strain which first broke on my ears was: 'Let them all be confounded that adore carved images and glory in their idols.' The next was: 'Save Thy servant, O God, who trusteth in Thee.' The third: 'Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered.'[4] On hearing

[1] The crowing of the cock is an incident which is mentioned significantly by writers of this period, as bearing a mystical reference to repentance.

[2] These Biblical expressions are probably the colouring of Mamertine after his conversion; or he may have been instructed in the doctrines of Christianity before that event. Vid. Bolland. ad locum Const.

[3] The church built by Amator at the spot where the house of Ruptilius stood. See Chap. III.

[4] These were the Antiphons sung at the end of the Psalms probably.

this I prostrated myself seven times on the tomb and prayed: 'O God of the holy Corcodemus, receive him that hasteneth to Thee, and disappoint me not in my hope; by Thy care and favour have I been brought to this place, where I have learnt the error of my ways.' I rose again and turned towards the Church, when, lo! another strain suited to my wants: 'The Lord hear thee in the day of tribulation, the name of the God of Jacob defend thee.' Strengthened by these sounds, I fell down a third time in prayer; on rising, I found the light had disappeared. I had learnt the mysterious virtue of the Sign of the Cross, which I repeated on my forehead. At last the day returned, and having again crossed myself several times, and given thanks to my saintly host, I hastened to find my future guide and director. I inquired where Bishop German lived, and was told that to-day he was not in the town, but at a monastery which he visited very often by passing the river in a little boat. I then asked the way to it, and proceeded thither; having stopped a little at the entrance, suddenly the Bishop came out, who, to my astonishment, was acquainted with my vision, and reproached me with endeavouring to conceal the circumstance of the serpents which lay in wait for me at the sepulchre."

When Mamertinus had finished his account, the whole assembly were filled with joy, and blessed God, saying: "Thanks be to Thee, O God, because Thou had foreordained this vessel of election for Thyself before the foundation of the world, in order to manifest in him the greatness of Thy power to all and without end." The Bishop then led him to

the place where Remission of Sins was granted,[1] and having blessed the water as the custom of the Church was, he baptized him according to the usual rites. Mamertinus then addressed German: "My lord," he said, "inasmuch as you have healed me in my inmost soul, restore, I pray you, the members of my body, give me back my sight and my hand." German answered, "Dost thou believe that I can perform this for thee?" "I do believe, and for this purpose do I seek your assistance." German then took oil, and having made the Sign of the Cross on the eye and hand of Mamertinus, restored them to their former condition. The people immediately began to praise God for the works He accomplished through His servant.

German then desired them to accompany him to the place where Mamertinus had lodged, to look for the serpent and her crew. When they arrived at the spot, prayer was offered up, and Mamertinus showed the cell and the tomb where he had had the vision. The Bishop ordered the stone to be removed; eight serpents were found under it, one of which exceeded the rest in size. This was the mother. She raised her head and stared upon all, but especially German. "Thou wicked serpent," said he, "dost thou still cleave to the heel of the human race, and dost thou dare, after thy crime and defeat,[2] stretch thy folds over the limbs of the

[1] The Baptistery was often in ancient times separate from the church, as is shown by the plan in Bingham (quod vide).

[2] Prævaricatio and Devictio. The latter word is found in Tertullian for "victory." Possibly Devinctio may here be the proper reading, *i.e.* "binding," Satan being bound by the triumph of the Cross. See Forcellinus ad vocem.

venerable Deacon Corcodemus? As the Lord liveth, thou deservest death with all thy tribe. But since thou hast obeyed the Deacon, and hast not injured his guest, depart untouched, and avoid henceforth the abode of man. Let the forest and desert be thy dwelling, do hurt to no one on thy way. Not I, but Christ, through me, charges thee." The serpent forthwith, says the writer of these facts, as if burdened with the mass of her iniquities, bowed the head, and unfolding her long back, departed, and was followed by the rest. On seeing the vast size of the beast, all fled in terror; German, however, remained motionless, and reproved them for their want of faith. The serpent, we are informed, was seven cubits in length.

After this, the chapel of the blessed Deacon Corcodemus, which from the thickness of the briers had been known to none, became the resort of all devout persons, who studiously carried thither their voluntary offerings of piety.[1]

Mamertinus gave himself up to the monastery of German with such ardour that he never left its enclosure without command of his Bishop or his religious brethren. His holy life and divine knowledge became so conspicuous, that on the death of Alodius,[2] the first Abbot, he was appointed to take his place, and governed the monastery till about 468. He died near that time on the 21st of April.

[1] Culturam promeruit, cellulæ votivam gerentes devotionem.

[2] Alodius is the name in the Martyrol. Antissiodorense, not Alogius. It is uncertain whether Alodius or Alogius was the same as the Bishop of Auxerre of that name.

The days on which the memory of the Saints mentioned in this chapter are honoured at Auxerre are as follows, according to the Martyrology of that town, published in 1751.[1] Peregrine, on the 16th May; Marcellianus, 13th May; Eladius, or Helladius, 8th May; Valerianus, or Valerius, 7th May; Amator, 2nd May; Corcodemus the Deacon, 18th May; Florentinus, 27th September; Alexander the Sub-deacon, 4th February; Jovinianus the Lector, 5th May; Jovianus the Sub-deacon, not known; Alodius, 28th September; Mamertinus, 21st April.

[1] See Tillemont, tom. iv. 480, &c., with respect to the chronology and acts of these Saints. See also Notes to Const. by Boschius, Bollandist.

CHAPTER IX

GERMAN'S FIRST MIRACLES

WE have just seen that Mamertinus recovered the use of his sight and touch by the instrumentality of German; the following pages will record a series of miracles, which finished only with his death, and among which some were of the most astonishing nature. It has been remarked that ecclesiastical miracles are of a character very different from that of Scripture miracles; allowing the truth of the remark, still it seems more applicable to the four first centuries of the Church than to the fifth; and again, to public miracles which affect the Church in general, than to those which rather regard individuals. The miracles of German, as will be observed, bear in many cases a strong resemblance to those of our Lord and His Apostles. They are not less striking in the power they evince, the effects they produce, or the publicity with which they were performed. If the consciousness of the agent be a prominent feature in the miracles of Scripture, it is not less so in those of German and others of the same period. Of course this consciousness rested, as in the Apostles' case, not on any feelings of self-sufficiency, but on faith in Christ's merits and power. Thus we have seen

that German sometimes thought it right to declare that, "Not he himself, but Christ through him, gave the charge."[1] Among the earliest of his miracles is the following :—

There was a man of a highly respectable character called Januarius. When the governor of the province made his round of visits, Januarius had to collect the tax-money, and carry it to the treasury. Prompted once by the vicinity of Auxerre, he deviated a little from his straight course to see German. In the meanwhile he lost the tax-bag. It happened that a man afflicted with an evil spirit had found it, and absconded with it. Januarius, upon discovering his loss, was thrown into great alarm, and filled the town with his inquiries. When all failed, he ventured to require the restitution at the hands of the Bishop, as if he had committed the bag to him. Others would have received the charge with contempt. But German submitted at once to the responsibility, and promised in God's name to restore the money. It was the Sabbath day; that is, Saturday. German caused the town to be searched with the greatest diligence, but in vain. Three days elapsed—no clue appeared. The tax-gatherer, in tears, pleaded the punishment of death which impended over him. German exhorted him to patience and confidence. Thereupon, he ordered one of those who were possessed with devils to be brought to him. By a strange coincidence, the author of the theft was the first introduced. German examined and questioned him closely, told

[1] See last Chapter.

him that the crime (whoever had committed it) could not remain concealed, and adjured the enemy of mankind to disclose the fact. No confession could be extorted as yet. The Bishop then left his house, and proceeded to the church to celebrate Mass.[1] After he had entered, accompanied by the multitude, he gave the usual solemn salutation[2] to the congregation, and fell prostrate to the ground. While he was praying, the prisoner of Satan, who had been brought to the Church, was seen to be raised in the air above the people, and enveloped in a blaze of fire. His cries filled the place and spread consternation among all. Suddenly, with a loud voice, he called out the name of German, and made public confession of his theft. The Bishop then rose from prayer, advanced to the head of the steps leading to the altar,[3] and evoked the evil spirit. The bag of money was discovered buried in the ground. The acclamations of the multitude were loud in German's honour, and the report of the action spread rapidly. The afflicted man forthwith recovered the soundness of his mind.

Not long after, a malignant fever infected the town of Auxerre. Its results were imputed, from their violence, to supernatural influence. Children fell the first victims: the glands of their throats unexpectedly swelled, and they were carried off within three days. The malady then attacked every

[1] This would be on Tuesday, if it was three days after Saturday. In fact, every day this office seems to have been performed.

[2] This salutation would be the "Dominus vobiscum" probably.

[3] *Podium* is thus explained by Bosch. Boll. ad locum.

one else, with a rapidity and severity which was compared to the sword of an avenging enemy. Medical resources were exhausted. At last, in despair, the people fled to divine assistance, and sought the intercession of German. He immediately took some oil, blessed it, and had all the sick touched with it. Its efficacy proved instantaneous; the symptoms of the disease disappeared, and the city was at once delivered from all danger. It appeared, says the writer of the account, that the evil spirits had been the authors of the fever, for one of the demoniacs out of whom German was evoking the devil, at the moment of his last paroxysm, affirmed that the prayers of the Bishop had prevailed in putting them to flight. The sight of his piety and devotedness had provoked their fury to exert itself in tormenting his flock.

It was the custom of German to visit, on alternate days, the Church and the Monastery, to superintend the functions of the Clergy on one hand, and of the Monks on the other. One day he was prevented from going to the Monastery where his presence was desired, and he excused himself on the plea of unavoidable business. He was not, however, detained so long as he expected, and he resumed his purpose of visiting the brotherhood, thinking to take them by surprise. It happened that in the meantime, in the Monastery, a man possessed with an evil spirit was thrown into one of his fits, in the middle of which he screamed out that German was already at the bank of the river, and could not pass without a boat. The Abbot, who had received the refusal of the Bishop, imputed his cries to the evil

one. But as he continued in the same assertions, Alodius (this was the Abbot's name) sent one of his Monks, who brought back a confirmatory report. A boat was immediately despatched, and the Bishop passed over and was welcomed by all the brothers. When he was informed of what had passed, he fell down to pray, and the Monks imitated him. While they were in this situation, the same fact occurred as was described above; the demoniac was suddenly raised into the air and suspended by the invisible chains of Satan, to use the language of the narrator. When they got up from prayer, German evoked the spirit, and healed the man.

In the three instances here described we evidently remark a family likeness. The power of the Prince of Darkness over mankind is the prominent feature of them. It is well known that exorcisms in the early Church were of frequent occurrence, and they have been enumerated among the miracles of ecclesiastical times with the avowed contempt of some modern writers.[1] Nor is there any way of procuring credit to them among those who are not strongly impressed with the truth "that we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness (or rather 'wicked spirits') in high places;"[2] that is, against the "wiles of the devil." It is a fact, however, which must have weight with serious minds, that few things have been more universally realised in the Christian world for the first fourteen cen-

[1] See Douglas, in Essay on Miracles, p. xxxv.
[2] Philipp. vi.

turies, than the direct, and so to say, personal agency of the devil. Even the cool and cautious Eusebius speaks of Satan in terms strictly applicable to a visible and living enemy. In the eleventh century, one of the most distinguished writers[1] of his time fills a great part of his own history with examples of the presence of evil spirits. But these actions of German's were merely the prelude to the greater miracles which he performed subsequently, and which we shall see were more closely parallel with those of our Lord. It would seem they were reserved to the time when he should have received his Apostolic commission, and when contact with paganism and heresy should require a more special manifestation of divine power. And upon inquiry, it will be found perhaps that a great part of those miracles which are considered the most wonderful, were done by men who had to convert nations—St. Martin, St. Patrick, St. Palladius, St. German.

Two more incidents may here be noticed before we proceed to the more important events of German's life. He was once travelling in winter. Oppressed with fatigue and the effects of his long fasts, he retired towards the evening with his attendants to a deserted ruin not far from his road. The place was said to be infested with evil spirits; and it was conspicuous for its wild and rugged appearance. He was not, however, hindered from taking up his abode there for the night. His followers on arriving began to prepare their supper, and sat down to eat. St. German abstained from all food. In the

[1] Guibertus Novingenti.

meantime, the Reader[1] read aloud some pious work, after the manner introduced into monasteries, and which still is observed in religious houses. As he continued his task, German fell into a deep sleep. Immediately a spectre appeared before the Reader, and a violent shower of stones beat against the walls of the ruin. The young man, alarmed, awoke the Bishop, who in the name of Christ adjured the spectre to explain the cause of the visit. The mysterious personage answered, that he, with another, had formerly been the perpetrator of great crimes, for which after death they had remained unburied, and had been deprived of the rest allowed to other departed spirits. German having ascertained the spot where the bodies of these wretched men had lain, assembled on the following morning the people of the neighbourhood, and employed them in removing the ruins. After much labour, they found two corpses loaded with iron chains. "Then, we are informed, according to the Christian custom of burial, a pit was made, the chains taken off, linen garments thrown over them, and intercession offered up to obtain rest for the departed and peace for the living." Henceforth the spot was again inhabited and grew into a prosperous and flourishing abode.

During the same journey he retired one evening to the dwelling of some persons of humble condition. Though he could command the attentions of the wealthy and great, yet he often avoided them, and frequented the lower ranks of life. While he was thus lodged, he passed the whole

[1] The Reader or Lector was one of the minor clergy in early times.

night in prayer, as was his practice after our Lord's example. Daylight broke in, and to his surprise the cock failed to herald in the morning. He asked the reason, and learnt that an obstinate taciturnity had succeeded to the usual cry. Pleased at finding an opportunity of rewarding his hosts, German took some wheat, blessed it, and gave it to some of the birds to eat, whereby he restored their natural faculties. A deed of this kind, which might have been forgotten by the rich, was likely to remain fixed in the memory of the poor. The appreciation of any action depends generally on the degree of utility which it conveys to different people, and circumstances which appear trivial to some are important to others. Thus could our Lord adapt His wonderful signs to the wants of men, at one time turning water into wine, at another multiplying the loaves, at another taking a fish for a piece of money which it contained.

CHAPTER X

BRITAIN IN 429 A.D.

"ABOUT this time," says Constantius, "an embassy came from Britain, which informed the Gallican Bishops that the Pelagian heresy had widely spread among the Britons; for which reason they were requested to give their immediate assistance to the Catholic Faith. Thereupon a large synod was gathered, and by the judgment of all present, German and Lupus were unanimously entreated to defend the cause, as lights of the Christian Church and bishops of Apostolic character, who, though bound to earth by the flesh, dwelt in heaven through their virtues. They, like heroic champions, readily undertook the task, heedless of the labours it involved, and forthwith proceeded to the work."

In this brief sketch of the causes which occasioned the visit of German to our island, there is much that has exercised the ingenuity of the learned, and still more which requires illustration, to enable the general reader to obtain a definite view of his mission. For the first time we are here introduced to the people of Britain, in a somewhat abrupt manner. Nor are we accustomed at present to the idea of our nation sending for assistance to France; and interference from abroad in

our religious controversies is the last thing which most men would welcome. Two things necessarily demand explanation,—the nature of the Political Union of Britain with the rest of the Roman Empire, and the nature of that Religious Unity which bound together the different parts, including Britain, of Christendom. Both these, it is hoped, will appear, by inquiring as briefly as may be into the state of Britain in the fifth century, the rise and progress of the Pelagian heresy, and into the circumstances of the Council which Constantius mentions. If the history of this period of our history has been considered uninteresting, it is for want of clearness and precision in our popular sources of information. Antiquarian researches are seldom read, and it requires some patience to discern the truth amid their discordant views. To supply partially the need of this trouble, without pretensions to original investigation, is the chief object of the following pages.

Gildas, a writer who flourished not long after the events here related, tells us that Britain was situated on the other side of the Ocean ;[1]—there is nothing in the fact but what we all know ; but it is worth the while observing, that whereas the Atlantic, among the ancients, received the name of Ocean, the Channel which divides England and France was included under that appellation. Amid the devastations which a civilised age may be said to have spread throughout this rich country, there

[1] "Trans Oceanum." Gildas, ed. Stevenson, 1838, p. 19. Vid. etiam Bed. Ephemeris Oct. 1, and scriptores ætat. passim. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. iv.

is still reason for all to admire its beautiful pastures, its luxuriant woods, and green hills. But in Gildas's time it should seem that nature and art were tempered in that happy manner, which at once made the land habitable and fertile, while it left room for the poet or the hermit to indulge their love for solitude.[1] He tells us that by the mouths of the Thames and the Severn, the riches of foreign countries were brought into Britain, and thence spread through the land by many minor streams; that Britain was adorned with twenty-eight large cities, besides other fortified places; in all which there was a vast display of strong walls, gates, towers, edifices some of which were equally remarkable for their magnitude and their solidity. Another author tells us the names of these twenty-eight cities, and as there are many which the reader may like to recognise, it will not be out of place to give them in the original, as well as the present idiom. It will be remarked the word Caer is applied to all. In the British tongue it signified City; and as in the Roman lists of towns the word Civitas was prefixed, so it happened with the British word Caer.

1⁰ Caer Guorthigern (a town in Monmouthshire).

2⁰ Caer Guiuntguic, *Norwich* in Norfolk, or *Winwick* in Lancashire.[2]

3⁰ Caer Mincip, *Verulam*, where the Church of St.

[1] Gildas, p. 11 et p. 15. Vid. etiam Ranulph. Higden. Hist. Brit. ed. Gale, p. 197.

[2] Nennius, p. 62, ed. 1838, Stevenson. Usher, Primord. p. 59, ed. 40. Vid. et Antonin. Itinerariam.

Alban's was built, and which was a Roman municipal city, according to Tacitus.

4⁰ Caer Ligualid, Lugubalia, in Latin, *Carlisle* in Cumberland.

5⁰ Caer Meguaid (in Montgomeryshire), called by the Romans Mediolanum, or Milan.

6⁰ Caer Colun, *Colchester*, called by the Romans Colonia.

7⁰ Caer Ebrauc, this is the famous town of *York*, which in Latin was Eboracum.

8⁰ Caer Custoient, that is, the town of Constantius.[1] "Here," says Nennius, "Constantius the Emperor (the father probably of Constantine the Great) died; that is, near the town of Caer Segeint, or Custoient, in Carnarvonshire." There was an inscription in Nennius's time left on his tomb, which bore witness to his death. He had enriched the town greatly, insomuch that there were no poor persons to be found in it. It was called by the Romans Segentium and also Minmanton.

9⁰ Caer Caratauc, *Salisbury*.

10⁰ Caer Granth, *Cambridge* (in Gloucestershire, thinks Usher, though others believe it to be the more famous Cambridge).

11⁰ Caer Maranguid, called in Latin Mancunium, *Manchester*.

12⁰ Caer Lundein, *London* (Londinum), the metropolis of the kingdom.

13⁰ Caer Ceint, *Canterbury* (Cantuaria).

14⁰ Caer Guiragon, *Worcester* (Vigornia).

15⁰ Caer Peris, *Porchester*.

16⁰ Caer Danu, called in Latin Danus, *Doncaster*.

17⁰ Caer Legion, civitas Legionum, *Chester*.

18⁰ Caer Guricon, *Warwick*.

19⁰ Caer Segeint, *Silchester*, near Reading in Berkshire, on the Thames.

[1] Nennius, p. 20.

20^0 Caer Legion guar Usic, *Caer Leon, on the Usk,* in Latin Urbs Legionis ad Iscam.

21^0 Caer Guent, *Winchester,* called by the Romans Venta Belgarum (afterwards Wintonia).

22^0 Caer Brithon, *Bristol.*

23^0 Caer Lerion, *Leicester.*

24^0 Caer Draitou, *Drayton* in Shropshire.

25^0 Caer Pensa vel Coyt, *Exeter.*

26^0 Caer Urnac, *Wroxeter* in Shropshire, called by the Romans Uriconium.

27^0 Caer Celemion, in Somersetshire, *Camalet.*

28^0 Caer Luit Coyt, *Lincoln.*

But these twenty-eight cities were by no means all that could pretend to the rank of towns; they were probably the principal. Gibbon affirms,[1] with apparent truth, that there were ninety-two considerable towns in Britain which had arisen under the protection of the Romans, thirty-three of which were distinguished above the rest by superior privileges. And in fact Nennius esteemed the minor towns to be countless,[2] and Bede speaks of twenty strong towns added by Vespasian in one campaign to the rest of the Roman possessions, which implies that there were many besides; and we have the testimony of Gildas himself, a contemporary, to an important town not mentioned in the list given, namely Bath, which sustained a memorable siege. On the other hand, while these cities spread affluence around and encouraged the pro-

[1] Vol. iv. p. 151. He quotes Richard of Cirencester. De Situ Brit. p. 36.

[2] "Innumera," Nenn. p. 6. "Oppida," Bede de sex. Aetat. 4033 Ann. "Badonicus mons." Gildas, p. 33.

gress of civilisation, there were not wanting vast ranges of uncultivated ground and woodland, with all the beauty which nature alone can confer. It is almost proverbial that ancient Britain was covered with forests, and the easy growth of trees in this climate would confirm the saying. With all the limitations then which the causes of wealth assigned necessarily require, it is not difficult to enter into the spirit of Gildas when he tells us, "that Britain was also decorated with broad meadows and plains, hills remarkable for their pleasant sites, and adapted to the highest culture, mountains affording ample pastures to all kinds of cattle, upon which flowers grew of all colours, so as to present a rich picture to the traveller, who might think he beheld a bride adorned with nuptial necklaces and bracelets. The streams," he continues, "are lucid as crystal; sometimes they wander about the land in abundant channels and with grateful murmuring; sometimes, as they glide slowly beneath the long shadowy banks, they seem to fall into a deep slumber, forming themselves into lakes of pure and icy water." England then, in Gildas's time, possessed the charms which it still owns. Nor had it lost them in those of Bede. England was still the beauteous picture of Gildas.[1]

On reading an account of St. German's deeds and miracles in Britain, most men would naturally ask themselves such questions as the following: Were the Britons, as they are often represented, in such a state of ignorance and simplicity, that the grossest

[1] "Et signis te *picta* Britannia texit."—Ephemeris, Oct. 1. Et Introd. Eccl. Hist.

acts of deception might be practised among them without fear of being detected? Had they nothing of that distrustful spirit which wealth and soft living introduce? Had they so little correspondence with foreign nations, and were they so ill acquainted with their faith, customs, and life, as to receive any one as an apostle or a teacher because he assumed these characters, and claimed deference and belief? Or again, might the subsequent report and account of his deeds in Britain be so little subject abroad to the criticism of experienced judges, that any tale might be circulated without fear of exposure, just as one at the present day might publish any relation of regions in Africa unexplored by all but himself? It is believed then that history furnishes an absolute negative to these questions. And before historical evidence, there is this antecedent probability, that all ages of the world, especially those which have succeeded the preaching of the Gospel, have been much more on a level in intellectual and political advantages than is often supposed. Man is of an elastic nature; circumstances must be very untoward to check its expansion. They were not such by any means in the fifth century in Britain, as will be seen.

Britain in ancient times seems to have meant that island which now consists of England, Scotland, and Wales. With less precision apparently it sometimes included Hibernia or Ireland. Nennius[1] gives the names of four races of inhabitants, the Scots, the Picts, the Saxons, the Britons. Three islands

[1] Nennius, p. 7. Ed. 1838.

among those which are situated near the coast of Britain claimed the highest importance, the Isle of Wight, then called Inisgueith ; the Isle of Man, or Eubonia, or Manau ; and the Orkney Islands to the north, which went by the name of Orc. From these geographical statistics it was usually said "that the governing power administered justice to Britain and its three Isles."[1] Without stopping to inquire what truth there might be in the statement that the Britons were descended from the Trojans, like their neighbours the Gauls ;[2] that is, by the posterity of Æneas who settled at Alba Longa ; or whether their name was derived from Brutus the grandson of Ascanius : it is more to the present purpose to show that in the fourth and fifth century Britain was part of Gaul. The generic term Gaul, as a portion of the Empire, included France, Great Britain, Spain and Portugal. It seems to be agreed by learned men that the same language at this time was spoken by the natives in Gaul Proper and Britain. The Pretorian Prefect of all Gaul had twenty-nine provinces under him, seven in Spain, seventeen in Gaul, strictly so called, and five in Britain.[3] There was a Vicarius, or what we should call a Lieutenant-Governor over each of these countries. The seat of government in Britain was at London or York, sometimes the one, sometimes the other. Caer Leon in Wales seems to have ranked next.[4]

[1] "Judicavit Britanniam cum tribus insulis." Ibid.

[2] Vid. Dubos, tom. i. ch. i.

[3] Valesius Not. Gall. p. 69. Buchanan, Cluverius, Camden, Notitia Imp. p. 13, ad Not. Dignitat. vid. quoque, p. 95.

[4] Stillingfleet, p. 199 and p. 220.

A residence of 400 years on the part of the Romans had placed the nation on the same footing as the most important provinces of the empire. Dacia, Scythia, or Sarmatia, were only occasionally visited by Roman armies, and though often ranked among tributary provinces, would feel in a small measure the influence of Roman civilisation. But Britain was a regular division of the Empire, subject to an administration similar in all respects to that of other parts. Legions to the number of twelve had been kept there for the repression of external as well as internal disturbance.[1] Every city had its magistrates and civil codes like municipal towns elsewhere. The imperial court itself had been often fixed there. Julius Cæsar entered the mouth of the Thames three times, according to Nennius.[2] On the last occasion he fixed his camp at Trinovantum 47 years before Christ. This of course was no regular settlement. But it opened the way to one. In the year 48 after Christ, the emperor Claudius came and reigned several months in Britain,[3] according to the same author and Bede, and penetrated as far as the Orkney Islands, which he made tributary. In the year 167, Lucius, a British king, with the rest of the petty sovereigns,[4] received an embassy from the Roman Emperor and Pope Eleutherius, whence it appears that the government of the land was divided between the ancient kings of the Britons and the Roman

[1] Alford, An. ad an. 401, ubi Camden.

[2] Pp. 17 and 18.

[3] De Sex Ætat. 4007.

[4] "Reguli."—Nennius, p. 18. Bede de sex Æt. 4132 (not Eucharisto but Eleutherio).

settlers. But in the year 208, when Septimius Severus carried on the Caledonian war, and afterwards under Caracalla his son,[1] the Island was definitely invested with all the privileges of a Roman province, which it preserved till the time we are engaged in.

Britain became a favoured country. Men often rose first to importance among her downs and her plains—sometimes gained the imperial diadem in her defence; and they loved to return to the cradle of their glory. Septimius Severus died at York. Constantius died in Wales. Constantine the Great was born at York, and educated in the same country. Afterwards usurpers issued from the Island or reigned in it. With the exception of the continual aggressions of the barbarians—the Scots, Picts, and Saxons—everything tended to increase the prosperity of the nation. During the period which elapsed from Claudius's reign to that of Honorius in the fifth century, Whitaker, in his learned History of Manchester,[2] thinks the British monarchs of several tribes continued to reign, though with subordinate jurisdiction, and in spite of Gibbon, "the public and private kings" of Gildas,[3] and passages of Nennius,[4] seem to favour the opinion. An island under equal circumstances must always be favourable to the effects of peace. The Romans brought thither with them their luxuries, arts, and sciences, which were essential to their existence, and the important colony had become the exact copy of the mother country.

[1] Gibbon, vol. i.
[2] Vol. i. pp. 247–257.
[3] Gildas, p. 33.
[4] Nennius, p. 38.

What Calcutta is now to London, London or York was to Rome. But the author just quoted will best stand in the place of other evidence.[1] "At this signal period" (that now under review), he says, "the five provinces in general of our country seem to have advanced very high in the scale of political perfection. And they even seem to have attained a more considerable degree of refinement, and to have actually existed in a more flourishing condition than any of them knew for many, very many centuries afterwards. All the improvements of the Romans had necessarily been introduced among us. Our mines were worked with the greatest skill. And our towns were decorated with baths, temples, market-places, and porticos. Our architects were even so remarkably numerous and good, that a body of them was sent by Constantius into Gaul, to rebuild the ruined Augustodunum with greater magnificence. And so universally diffused were the riches of the kingdom, that even after the lapse of many centuries, and merely from the scatterings of negligence or the concealments of fear, the sites of all the greater provinces remain generally to the present times inexhaustible mines of Roman wealth. So absolutely false is the charge of barbarism against the Britons of this period, which has been regularly transmitted from pen to pen through a succession of 1200 years." This last sentence seems more particularly directed against the early pages of Hume's history, which

[1] Tom. ii. p. 6. Hist. of Manchester.

[2] See also Alford. Ann. ad an. 401. "Romani cum insulam subjugârunt," &c.

are very inaccurate and insufficient, as he elsewhere shows.

However, that this prosperity of the Britons remained unimpaired till the great invasion of the Saxons, which was subsequent to St. German's time, is clear from the nature of the devastations which these barbarians then exercised; for Gildas tells us their fury was spent upon the monuments of Roman and British wealth, their columns, towers, streets, high walls, and fine houses.[1] And though towards the beginning of the fifth century the Emperor was obliged to recall, as we shall see, the legions that guarded Britain to protect other portions of his dominions, yet it was not to be expected that in twenty, or at most forty years, all traces of Italian refinement would have been effaced. Numerous alliances and permanent settlements of foreigners would have taken place during the long period of the Roman connection; and as at this time the natives of Gaul had almost merged their nationality into the Latin citizenship,[2] so this island, which had been conquered by the same general, was now as much Roman as British. Furthermore, a passage of Nennius shows that in the later years of Vortigern, that is, about 450, notwithstanding the many departures for the defence of Rome, there was still a considerable number of Romans,[3] who kept that tyrant in awe. During those forty years which followed the retreat of the

[1] See Gildas, p. 15 and p. 32.

[2] See Salvian De Gub. Dei, passim.

[3] P. 24. One MS. adds, "Those that remained there." See Ed. 1838.

Romans, Gibbon relates that the artificial fabric of civil and military government was dissolved,[1] and the independent country was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns. Zozimus, he continues, very accurately observes, that the letters of Honorius are addressed to the *cities* of Britain; and he proceeds to give the description of this government, which was essentially Roman in its forms, and highly indicative of the advance of British civilisation.

If these inductions be true, it would follow as a matter of course that learning and literature were in a flourishing condition in this land. And in fact we do find the same state of things in this respect as in Gaul.[2] Schools and colleges were instituted in all the chief towns, and the usual rewards offered to professors and persons who distinguished themselves. Hence it could be said by a contemporary writer that the Britons were consummate lawyers.[3] Christianity, as elsewhere, increased the ardour for intellectual pursuits, and learned divines, as well as acute disputants, sprung up in the island. Fastidius, Bishop of London, flourished about this time. He has left some writings which are still extant. Faustus, afterwards Bishop of Riez, one of the most eminent writers of his day, was a native of Britain. Pelagius (no honour doubtless, but still a case in point) was also born and educated here. Thus the Bishops and Priests of this country, though poor, were qualified in all other respects to attend the debates of foreign councils as well as those at

[1] T. iv. p. 151. [2] Stillingfleet. Origin. 220.
[3] "Causidicos Britannos."

home. Some were present at Arles in 316, A.D. And our churches attracted the attention of men a thousand miles distant, St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, and St. Jerome.[1]

In the foregoing observations little has been said which does not strictly apply to the time when St. German lived and came over to Britain. To complete the view of the political state of the country, a rapid outline of the leading events since the beginning of the fifth century is necessary. Those who desire further knowledge of the preceding annals of Britain must consult other sources, among which the life of St. Augustine, lately published, will naturally commend itself.

By the continued aggressions of the Goths and other barbarians upon Italy and even Rome, chiefly under the conduct of Alaric and Radagaisus, the Roman legions were forced to leave Britain, about the year 401, to defend the centre of the empire.[2] Thus the Island was left destitute of the chief obstacle to the invasion of the Picts, Scots, and Saxons, which last, we shall see, were already known for their piratical exploits. Nor did these enemies lose the opportunity afforded them of plundering the northern boundary.[3] It was a proverb, said Gildas,[4] that the Britons were as little brave in war as they were faithful in peace. He returns often to the same charge, which is perhaps not to be accepted without many limitations. He himself had

[1] Alford, 401. Stillingfleet, 178.

[2] Vide Alford, ad an. 401.

[3] "Britanni non sunt in bello fortes, nec in pace fideles."

[4] Gildas de Excidio, p. 15, also p. 25.

said that the expedition of the usurper Maximus into Gaul some years before had stripped Britain of her youth, which was the first signal for the attacks of the Picts and Scots.[1] However, so it is that little effectual resistance was made against the barbarians.

Opinions differ as to the abode of these people. It is certain that the Picts lived in what is now called Scotland, but whether they occupied the whole or only the southern part is not clear.[2] Gildas clearly tells us the Picts were to the north of Britain, the Scots to the west (a circione), which serves to prove the Scots to be the same as the natives of Ireland or Hibernia, and such also is Usher's opinion.[3] It appears they were assisted in their incursions by Norwegians and Danes.

In the meantime, about the year 407, A.D., Constantine (whom none will confound with Constantine the Great or his son) was raised in Britain from the rank of private soldier to the dignity of Emperor, at the death of one Gratianus, who had been in a similar way elevated to the throne, and had been killed after a reign of four months. Constantine crossed over into Gaul, which he rapidly reduced, but was not long after conquered himself, and put to death by the generals of Honorius, the lawful emperor. This prince was now no longer able to guard his distant provinces, and in 409 he was under the necessity of exhorting the Britons to

[1] Gildas de Excidio, p. 20.

[2] Ibid. pp. 20, 21.

[3] Usher, Prim. Index. Chron. p. 1096, alias Alford, Annal, quem vide 406, 407.

defend themselves as best they could against their northern foes. However, in 411, the Romans, induced by the repeated requests of the Britons, again took the command of the island, and legions, with Victorinus the Prefect, were sent there to protect it. Ten years after, a fresh supply was sent by Honorius; and an engagement took place, according to Gildas, with the Picts and Scots[1] in which a great number of them were killed, the rest driven away, and the captives recovered. A coin on which this victory is commemorated has been produced by Camden the antiquarian. It was at this time, apparently, that the first wall was made,[2] by the Romans and Britons conjointly, across the strip of land which divides Edinburgh from Dumbarton, between the Frith of Forth and the river Clyde, or, as it is in the ancient descriptions, between Bodotria and Glotta. The emperor Valentinian had by this time succeeded to Honorius, and the Romans again were recalled to protect him. As a matter of course, the Picts and Scots began their depredations afresh; they broke down the wall, which had been made too lightly, of mere earth and rubbish,[3] and poured into the province. Once more the Romans were entreated, once more they returned. Aetius, the famous general of the empire, who afterwards conquered Attila at Châlons, and at this time governed Gaul, sent his last succour to the distressed Britons, with his lieutenant Gallio. The barbarians retired, and a new wall was built, more solid than the former,

[1] Vid. Alford, ad an. 428.

[2] Vid. Usher, Index Chron. p. 1096.

[3] Magis cespite quam lapide. Bed. de Sex Æt. vid. et Hist.

and apparently in a different line of country, from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Frith. It was then that the Romans, as Gildas tells us,[1] having admonished the Britons to look to themselves alone for defence, assisted them "in building forts at intervals along the coast, towards the southern part of the ocean (meaning the English Channel) where their ships were stationed, because from that quarter also the fierce barbarians were expected (alluding to the Saxons, who infested those seas), and then bid farewell to the natives, never again to return to the island." This last event took place not more than three years, according to Usher, seven according to Alford, before St. German came to Britain. At six different times had a wall across the island been built or restored by the Romans; first by Agricola, then by Hadrian, afterwards by Septimius Severus, again by Diocletian, then by Theodosius, and lastly by the officers of Honorius and Valerian. Henceforth the Picts and Scots harassed with impunity the exposed regions of northern Britain. On one occasion, however, we shall see a severe check they met with at the hands of the natives, at the time St. German came over.

In the meantime a king of the Britons had come into notice. Vortigern is a name which, like that of King Arthur subsequently, stands out as the representative, so to say, of a period. In the ancient chronicles, from Gildas downwards, he seems to gather around him almost every event of importance that happened between the departure of the

[1] De Excidio, p. 24. Alford, an. 421.

Romans and the arrival of the Saxons. If there is a special evil spirit that brings about revolutions in states, Vortigern would be the personification of it. The nature of the circumstances, division within, expectation without, are reasons merged in the odium of one individual character. Vortigern introduced the Saxons into England. Vortigern's crimes brought down the vengeance of heaven. Such is the theme of early historians. Vortigern, in Nennius, or the work which goes by his name, written in 858, A.D., and all those who have borrowed from his history, is closely connected with the name of St. German; and as Vortigern is represented in colours which often remind us of Saul or Ahab, so St. German seems to exemplify the opposite traits of Samuel or Elijah. Here is a field upon which one would naturally expect the disciples of that allegorical school which has lately prevailed so extensively in Germany and elsewhere, to find a wide range for their fancies. It would not be surprising if the personality of Vortigern were denied altogether (too gross an attempt would it be to deny that of St. German); or if he were supposed to be a mere type of a divided, unsettled, and decaying constitution, one generic name to represent a multitude of petty tyrants, which would necessarily spring up when all central government was broken up. But let us distinguish matter of fact from matter of conjecture. There is undoubtedly much mystery hanging about the person of Vortigern; but Vortigern is, nevertheless, a true historic character. When the Roman government was withdrawn from Britain, in 409 (accord-

ing to Bede),[1] the natives took the administrative power into their own hands. "The hereditary lords of ample possessions,"[2] to borrow Gibbon's admissible inferences, "who were not oppressed with the neighbourhood of any powerful city, aspired to the rank of independent princes, and boldly exercised the rights of peace and war. . . . Several of these British chiefs might be the genuine posterity of ancient kings, and many more would be tempted to adopt this honourable genealogy, and to vindicate their hereditary claims, which had been suspended by the usurpation of the Cæsars. . . . The public strength, instead of being united against a foreign enemy, was consumed in obscure and intestine quarrels; and the personal merit which had placed a successful leader at the head of his equals, might enable him to subdue the freedom of some neighbouring cities, and to claim a rank among the *tyrants* who infested Britain after the dissolution of the Roman government." Gildas and St. Jerome both inform us that Britain at this time was a province fertile in tyrants. Among these was Vortigern,[3] before he became king of Britain. According to Alford, he first was a chief among the Danmonii, and called Count of Cornwall, and sometimes Consul of the Gevissei. He had three sons, Vortimer, Categirn, and Pascent. About the year 438, it should seem Vortigern was placed at the head of the many petty kings who divided the land, that he might

[1] Bede, Epitome Eccles. Hist.

[2] Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 152.

[3] Vid. Gild. p. 15 et p. 33. Alford, ad ann. 438; vid. Nennius, p. 39.

oppose the united strength of the nation against the northern invaders. Gildas, Bede, and Nennius are uniform in calling him the sovereign of the country, while at the same time they indicate the weight which the inferior princes, according to their relative importance, must have had in the public councils and measures of the state.

CHAPTER XI

PELAGIANISM IN BRITAIN

WE must now pass on to consider the state of the British Church in the fifth century with that signal departure from its purity in the heresy of Pelagianism.

What the consequences of the cessation of Diocletian's persecution proved to be to the British Church, as well as to the rest of Christendom, are explained in the following words of Gildas: "The Britons raised again their Churches which had been levelled to the soil; they laid the foundations of sacred edifices in honour of the holy martyrs, constructed, achieved, and exhibited them in every quarter as trophies of victory. They celebrated the days of Festivals, and with pure hearts and mouths received and administered the sacraments; as children at the breast of their mother, so did all the sons of the Church exult in her bosom."[1] It is well known that under the government of Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, Britain and the western provinces in general suffered much less than the eastern empire from the Edicts of persecution.[2] But it was some time before the clemency of that prince found occasion to exert itself. While Maximian, the colleague of Diocletian, reigned in the west, the fire of persecution raged

[1] P. 19.

[2] Vid. Eusebius ad fin. Hist.

vehemently in the provinces of his administration. The cruel minister of the tyrant's fury, Rictiovarus,[1] filled Gaul with the blood of martyrs; Bale and Treves were amongst the most suffering cities; in the latter town so many were put to death, that they ever after went by the name of the Innumerable. We have had occasion already to advert to this persecution in the case of the youth St. Justinus, whose death by some mistake apparently has been coupled with the names of both Rictiovarus and St. Amator, the former of which lived nearly a hundred years before Amator. It was in this persecution that St. Alban also received the crown of martyrdom in Britain. Under Constantius, whose wife, Helena, was a Christian, the Church enjoyed peace. This prince having come to the dignity of Augustus, was enabled to desist from all harsh measures enjoined by the decrees of the other emperors; and favour took the place of toleration which he had always shown. However, it was not till the edicts of persecution were repealed that Britain, like other parts of the empire, fully recognised the claims of the Christian religion. "Before that time," says Gildas, "the precepts of Christ were but lukewarmly espoused by the inhabitants, though some accepted them in their entireness, and others gave their assent less strongly."[2] But an important accession to the triumph of the Church took place in the elevation of Constantine to the empire, and in Britain, as elsewhere, the conquering Labarum brought over the world to the spouse of Christ.

[1] Vid. Anquetil, tom. i.

[2] P. 16.

As a general fact the Arian heresy received less encouragement in the Latin Church than in the Greek, and though many barbarian nations introduced it in the fifth century, yet it was never long supported by the lawful Roman governors of the west, and uniformly repudiated by the ancient population.[1] Still it had its votaries in every country, and Britain did not altogether escape the infection.[2] But a more pernicious influence was in reserve for this land, which began to be felt in the beginning of the fifth century in the propagation of Pelagius' principles. In the meantime the external aspect of the British Church might on the whole answer to the following biassed description: "The British Church," says Gibbon with his usual irony, "might be composed of thirty or forty Bishops, with an adequate proportion of the inferior clergy; and the want of riches (for they seem to have been poor) would compel them to deserve the public esteem by decent and exemplary behaviour. The interest as well as the temper of the clergy was favourable to the peace and union of their distracted country: those salutary lessons might be frequently inculcated in their popular discourses; and the Episcopal Synods were the only councils that could pretend to the weight and authority of a national assembly. In such councils, where the princes and magistrates sat promiscuously with the Bishops, the important affairs of the State, as well as of the Church, might be freely debated, differences reconciled, alliances formed, contributions

[1] Vid. Salvian Gub. Dei.

[2] See Bede, Lib. i. ch. 8, and Gildas, 19.

imposed, wise resolutions often concerted, and sometimes executed; and there is reason to believe, that in moments of extreme danger, a Pendragon or Dictator was elected by the general consent of the Britons. These pastoral cares, so worthy of the episcopal character, were interrupted, however, by zeal and superstition, and the British clergy incessantly laboured to eradicate the Pelagian heresy which they abhorred as the peculiar disgrace of their native country."[1] This political as well as ecclesiastical importance of the clergy in the fifth century, which was indeed a prominent feature in the condition of Britain, resembled in many respects that which was afterwards witnessed in Spain;[2] and about the time that St. German flourished at Auxerre, it was frequently brought into notice by the repeated synods which were convened to stop the progress of Pelagianism.

There has been much discussion about the birthplace of Pelagius. Yet it seems pretty clearly established that he was a Briton. Bede has expressly declared this, and he is supported by St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Prosper, contemporary writers.[3] But from which of the British provinces he came is not so certain. The early historians of monasteries make him Abbot of Bangor, in Wales; and his original name is supposed to have been Morgan, which signifies Sea Born, and which he dropped for that of Pelagius, answering to it,[4] when he went to

[1] Vol. iv. p. 154.

[2] See Guizot's Europe, 6ième Leçon, p. 116, &c.

[3] Bede, Lib. i. ch. 10, August. Ep. 106, ad Paulam Hier ad Ctesiph. p. 256, tom. ii. See Alford, ad an. 404.

[4] Stillingfl. Orig. 187.

Rome. There is likewise some uncertainty with regard to the exact date of his birth. Probably he went abroad early in life, after having for some time studied in the retirement of Bangor; for he undoubtedly was reputed a monk in his own time.[1] Inquiring and ingenious men generally went to Rome to sharpen their natural talents; and Pelagius, among the number, repaired thither. He lived a long time in comparative obscurity, though acquainted with St. Augustine. For many years he adhered with zeal to the Orthodox Faith. Had this not been the case, St. Augustine would not have written to him in the following manner: "I return you many thanks for endeavouring to please me with your correspondence, and for conveying to me such certain proof of your soundness in doctrine. May the Lord reward you. Ever remain the same. And live with Him to eternity, beloved and longed-for brother," &c.[2]

While at Rome Pelagius superintended the studies of several young men, among whom were Celestius and Julianus, who afterwards became conspicuous as leaders of the new Sect. Jacobus and Timasius were also his disciples, and subsequently were restored to the Church. During this residence, Pelagius wrote his short Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles and Letters to Melania and Demetrias. He was still considered orthodox, and his reputation was now rapidly increasing. "A man of learning and sense,

[1] Bede, Lib. i. ch. 10. Isidore of Pelusium wrote to Pelagius the *Monk*, and St. Chrys. called him *Monachus*. Cellier, Stillingfleet, and Collier.

[2] August. in Gestis Palæstinæ in causa Pelag.

and what is more, a very pious man and a Christian of no ordinary rank,"—such are the epithets which were applied to him.[1] But we may question the foundation, or rather sincerity of his profession of piety, when we consider that he is represented on other occasions as a sensual and voluptuous man.[2]

Prosper Aquitanus determines the year 413 as the time when he first gave publicity to his errors, about five years before German was elected Bishop. Honorius and Arcadius then divided the empire between them. "Pelagius," says Bede,[3] "was seconded by Julianus of Capania, an ambitious man, and who thought himself mortally disobliged by the loss of a Bishopric. St. Augustine, and the rest of the Catholic Fathers, appeared vigorously against this dangerous novelty. However, their answers were not successful enough to silence Pelagius and his adherents; but, on the other hand, the distraction seemed to rise upon opposition, and gain ground by being confuted and exposed."

Such were the general features of Pelagianism abroad, but the promulgators of it in Britain come more within the present purpose. Neither Pelagius nor Celestius visited Britain after they had obtained notoriety. This at least is the general opinion. Pelagius, it is said, was an old man before he became famous. However, that his heresy spread far and wide in the island is positively asserted by Constantius and Bede, two good authorities.[4]

[1] Aug. de Gest. Palest. Collier, B. i.
[2] Isid. Pelus. Orosius, Apol. ch. 27, apud Stilling.
[3] Collier's transl.
[4] Bede, Lib. i. ch. 7. Constant. ad locum. Prosper Chron.

Agricola, son of Severianus, a Pelagian Bishop, was the first public advocate of it in Britain.[1] About the time when he spread his tenets, edicts had been issued, first by Honorius in 418, and afterwards by Valentinian in 425, proscribing the Pelagian heresy, and they had been carried into execution with great severity in Gaul.[2] Popes Zosimus and Bonifacius had armed the secular power; they are not, however, responsible for the excesses committed. It was in consequence of these edicts that Agricola fled from Gaul and came over into Britain.[3] He did not obtain a hearing at first. The Britons were ever good Catholics. Little encouragement had been given to Arianism; and now Pelagianism met with no ordinary difficulties. But so subtle and plausible were the arts employed, that by degrees they succeeded in spreading it almost over the whole island.[4] Whether it was received by so great a number of persons as might correspond with the extent of country it occupied is not perfectly clear. On one hand it was much countenanced, on the other it was vigorously opposed. One may safely affirm the Bishops in general fought against it; and conjecture that many of the rich and of the enterprising youth undertook its defence.[5] Several synods were convened to stop the

[1] Usher, Primord. 319. Carte's Hist. p. 182, vol. i. Ed. Fol.

[2] Stillingfl. 190. Alford, annos. 418–19. (The latter date is uncertain.)

[3] Agricola has been confounded erroneously with a certain Leporius who was in Gaul in the South. See Alford, Usher, Still., Collier.

[4] "Totam fere Britanniam Pelagianam pestem occupavisse." St. Lupi. Vit. apud Bolland. et Usserium, 319. See Tillem. tom. xv. 16.

[5] Compare Constantius's remarks, and Bede, Lib. i. ch. 17.

progress of the disease. But there was need of some special instrument to reach the roots of the canker. Against common and temporary heterodoxy the Church could find resources in her mere constitutions and traditions; but for deep and philosophic heresy she required the aid of those doctors and shining lights which are raised up for one special purpose and perhaps for that only. Pelagianism in its grosser form would at once revolt serious and religious minds. But Semi-Pelagianism, which approached nearer to the language of the Church, though it concealed a dangerous meaning, naturally imposed upon many, and perplexed some of the most zealous and eminent men in Christendom. Its success, which was extensive, was moreover due in a great measure to the extravagant opinions of the Predestinarians, who, apparently snatching up hastily some principles of St. Augustine without observing their connection with others of the same Father, built up a structure of Fatalism very opposite to the intention and distinct statements of the Bishop of Hippo.[1]

As the limits of a heresy can seldom be defined, and one runs into another when fully drawn out, and none has any absolute existence, as being founded solely upon a negative of the truth, the clearest notion which can be given of the outward character of Pelagianism in the world, will be derived from the language of those who represent the general impression it produced. Sigebert, the

[1] Consult Guiz. France, Stillingfleet Orig.

historian, who compiled from early sources, tells us that Pelagius asserted, "That every man, by his own merits, can be saved without grace; every one is directed to righteousness by his own will; infants are born without original sin, and are as guiltless as Adam was before his fall; therefore, they are to be baptized, not in order to be loosed from sin, but to be admitted by adoption into the kingdom of God; and should they not be baptized, still they will obtain a blessed eternity, apart from the kingdom of God."[1] St. Prosper, who was a theologian as well as a historian, confirms this view as a whole. "Pelagius the Briton," he says, "published the doctrine which goes by his name, against the grace of Christ, teaching that every one is directed to righteousness by his own will, and receives grace in proportion to his merits; that Adam's sin hurt himself but did not bind his posterity; that those who will may be free from all sin; that all little children are born as innocent as the first man was before his transgression, and are to be baptized, not in order to be delivered from sin, but to be honoured with the sacrament of adoption."[2]

The necessity of grace, then, was the leading point concerning which Pelagius erred. Accordingly, Bede, describing the heresy by its prominent feature, observes that the author of it began to spread its tenets "against the assistance of grace." These short statements are sufficient to show that other important errors might flow from the same source. Thus, the transmission of original guilt

[1] Sigebert, Chron. ad an. 404, apud Alford.
[2] In Prosper Chron. ad an. 414, apud Alford.

from Adam to all his posterity, the efficacy of baptism, the weakness of human nature, were in one sense consequences of the denial of grace, and in another were the same thing, inasmuch as what is virtually contained in anything, is one and the same with it. Which opinion was the father of the rest, if such distinction may be made, need not perhaps be asked, as no thought has any proper existence apart from its relation with others; and what poor abstractions men make are best understood by the concrete ideas or systems to which they relate.[1]

One more author shall be cited, whose testimony on the subject of Pelagianism cannot well be passed over.[2]

The Heresy, says St. Augustine, of the Pelagians, the most recent of all at present, sprung from Pelagius the monk. His disciple, Celestius, followed him so closely, that the partisans of both are also called Celestians. These men showed such enmity to the grace of God—"by which we are predestinated unto the adoption of children, by Jesus Christ to Himself,"[3] "and by which we are delivered from the power of darkness, that we might believe in Him, and be translated into His kingdom,"[4] to which purpose it is said, "No one cometh to me, unless it be given unto him of my Father;"[5] and "by which love is shed abroad in our hearts,"[6]

[1] For more details, vid. Usher, p. 218, Prim. Ed. 4to, et Collier, p. 96, tom. i. from St. Aug. Gestis Pal. et Peccato. Orig.

[2] From St. Augustine's work upon the Heresies. Heresies, 88.

[3] Eph. i. 5.

[4] Col. i. 13.

[5] John vi. 65.

[6] Rom. vi. 5.

"that faith may work by love"[1]—that without this grace they believe man can accomplish all the divine commands. Now if this were true, in vain would the Lord seem to have said, "Without me ye can do nothing."[2] However, Pelagius being blamed by the brethren for assigning nothing to the aid of divine grace in the performance of God's precepts, yielded so far to their reproaches as was compatible with not placing grace before (*præponeret*) free-will, while, with faithless craftiness, he lowered the former (*supponeret*), saying that grace was given to men, that by means of it the things which were ordered to be done by free-will might be more easily fulfilled. And by the words, "might be more easily fulfilled," he meant, of course, to imply, that though the difficulty would be greater, yet men might, without divine grace, obey the divine commands. Moreover, the same grace of God, without which we can do nothing good, they say exists only in the free-will, which our nature, without any previous merits received from Him, inasmuch as God only assists us so far by His laws and doctrine, as to teach us what we ought to do, and what to hope for; and not, forsooth, through the gift of His Spirit to enable us to do what we have learnt to do. And by this gift they allow, indeed, that knowledge is granted to us of God, whereby our ignorance is dispelled, but deny that love is given, whereby we live piously; as if knowledge, which without love puffeth up, might be called the gift of God, and love itself, which so edifieth that knowledge puff not up, were not the

[1] Gal. v. 6. [2] John xv. 5.

gift of God. They make void also the prayers which the Church offers up, whether for infidels and those who resist the teaching of God, to obtain their conversion to God, or for the faithful, to procure increase of faith to them, and perseverance in the faith. For these things, they affirm men do not receive from God, but have them from themselves, since they say that the grace which delivers us from impiety is given according to our merits. This doctrine, indeed, Pelagius, from fear of being himself condemned by the episcopal tribunal in Palestine, was forced to condemn; however, in his later works we find him teaching it. To this extent even do they go, that they say that the life of the just in this world is free from all sin; and consequently, that the Church of Christ is perfected in this mortal state, so as to be without spot or wrinkle;[1] as if she were not Christ's Church who cries to God all over the earth, "Forgive us our trespasses."[2] They also deny that children born of Adam, according to the flesh (*secundum Adam carnaliter natos*), contract by their first birth the infection of the old death. For they assert that they are born without any bond of original sin, inasmuch that there is nothing whatever that needs being remitted to them by a second birth; but that they are baptized, in order that being adopted by regeneration, they may be admitted into the kingdom of God, that is, transferred from what is good to what is better, and not by this renewal absolved from the evil of any ancient bond. For even should they not be baptized, they promise to them, out indeed of the

[1] Eph. v. 27. [2] Matt. vi. 12.

kingdom of God, a life of their own devising (*vitam suam*), which shall nevertheless be eternal and blessed. They also say that Adam himself, even if he had not sinned, would have died in the body, and that he did not die, as it happened, by the just effects of guilt, but by the condition of nature. Some other things also are imputed to them; but these are they chiefly on which the rest, either all, or nearly all, seem to depend.

Those who have paid attention to the controversies which have divided the world concerning Grace and Free-will, will not be surprised that men of learning and real holiness should have been overreached at times by the subtleties of Semi-Pelagianism, without internally assenting to its perversions. St. Sulpitius, we learn, imposed a lasting silence on his tongue, for having once given too favourable an ear to Pelagius himself. And other good men might occasionally use language which was offensive to dogmatic accuracy, and yet was innocent in them. Of this class, as it is said, was Fastidius the Briton, who lived at the time we are considering. He was surnamed Priscus, and was Bishop of London, the oldest see probably of England. Some who have strained a little the exclusiveness of the Augustinian theology, as Cardinal Norris and Tillemont, use harsh terms with regard to the work of Fastidius which has come down to us, and is entitled "A Treatise of Christian Life."[1] But our English writers of different schools are nearly all agreed in defending him. Gennadius, a very early

[1] See this work in vi. vol. August. Opera, ad finem, Alford, Cressy, Usher, Stillingfleet, Collier, Bede, Pitts.

writer,[1] has bestowed great praise on Fastidius, and is followed by Trithemius, a writer prior to the schism of the sixteenth century. He calls him "a man learned in the Holy Scriptures, distinguished for his life and manners, and eminent for his eloquence and talents."

Faustus, another Briton of the same time, who became in process of time Abbot of Lerins and Bishop of Riez in France, has been also thought to entertain Semi-Pelagian views. Yet even Cardinal Norris, before mentioned, admits that he was revered as a Saint in the church of Riez, and his name was preserved in the calendar of the Gallican Church. It was struck out long after by Molanus, and Baronius the great annalist followed him, but upon admonition restored it.[2] One Martyrology observes that "his books are piously and learnedly written, and that miracles are said to have been wrought by him."[3] However Faustus is no obscure character in history, for he took a prominent part in the controversies of the time, and had the charge of drawing up the Acts of a Council assembled on the subject of heresy.[4]

On the whole, it is certain that the Bishops in Britain opposed Agricola and his followers by the most strenuous measures.[5] But though they assembled synod after synod, they were unable to suppress the heresy, and finally resolved to apply to foreign assistance.

[1] Gennad. Catalog. [2] Hist. Pelag. lib. ii. p. 297.
[3] Vid. Bolland. Acta Sanct. 16th Jan.
[4] Comp. Sidon. Apol. Lit. ix. Eph. 3–9. Ruric. Epis. 2 lib. i.
[5] Alford, ad an. 420. Bede, lib. i. ch. 17.

CHAPTER XII

THE COUNCIL OF TROYES

SUCH were the events which preceded the mission of German to England. But we have, lastly, to state what was the nature of the authority he received, and what is known concerning the synod to which Constantius, our original informer, refers. Much discussion has been raised about this very point. It has been thought by many that the question whether the British Churches were dependent upon the Roman See or were not, rests, in a great measure, upon the evidence relating to this circumstance. We shall first put before the reader that account which will here be considered genuine, and then state some of the objections.

Before the English Bishops applied for help abroad, Palladius, the Apostle of the Scots, had been over to Britain, apparently not having, as yet, received his regular commission of Converter of the heathen in the north of the Island,[1] and while he was yet Deacon.

Palladius was a Greek by birth,[2] and attached to the Roman See. When he returned to Rome, he carried with him the news of the danger to

[1] Vid. apud Alford Annal. 429.

[2] Usher thinks he was not a Greek, but this is of no importance.

which the Church was exposed from the growing evil of Pelagianism, and possibly was the bearer of the intelligence to the Gallican clergy on the part of the Britons. When he arrived at Rome, he represented to Celestine, who was then Pope, the state of that part of Britain which is now called England and Wales, as well as of those districts which he had purposely visited.[1] Urged by his counsels, Celestine communicated his own intentions to the Gallican Bishops, who either, upon the strength of the message, immediately convoked a synod, or when the communication came, were already assembled, in order not to lose time in succouring their Christian brethren in Britain. This synod was held at Troyes, in Champagne, where St. Lupus was Bishop, in the autumn of 429, and the Gallican Prelates, after due consideration, elected German of Auxerre to go over to Britain as Apostle, with the authority of the Roman See, and joined to him Lupus, the Bishop of Troyes.[2] Whether Celestine proposed German for the examination of the Council, in accordance with the information he had obtained of his signal piety and wisdom, or whether he left free choice to the assembled Bishops to elect whomsoever they chose, we are not strictly told. But the first hypothesis is probably the true one, and agrees well with the unanimous consent of the Bishops in appointing him.[3] It will be seen, by reference

[1] Vid. Prosper Chron. ad an. 429, and Contra Collatorem, ch. 41, 42.

[2] Vice suâ, *i.e.* Cælestini.

[3] It is impossible to say whether Lupus had the same direct authority from the Pope. Prosper does not mention him in this connection. More probably, he was the proper appointment of the Synod.

to the passage of Constantius given at the beginning of a former chapter, that there is nothing in the view here taken which offers violence to his expressions, though there are some things which, in the brief description he has given, are not mentioned by him. On the other hand, his omissions have been supplied from the authority of St. Prosper of Aquitain,[1] himself a witness even nearer to the times than Constantius, a more precise and less poetical writer, inasmuch as he was composing a chronology, and one who had closer connection with the Bishop of Rome than any other Gallican author, at the same time that he was necessarily conversant with the affairs of his own country.

The objections to the account here given, and which have been urged with the greatest force by Bishop Stillingfleet,[2] are drawn up concisely by Collier[3] in his Ecclesiastical History in the following manner. "I have observed," he says, "that the orthodox Britons applied to the Gallican Bishops to reinforce them against the Pelagians, and that Germanus and Lupus were sent by a deputation of a synod in Gaul; but it is objected on the other side that Celestine, Bishop of Rome, sent Germanus as his legate hither, and for this the testimony of Prosper is alleged. But this assertion seems sufficiently overthrown by the authorities of Constantius, Bede, Paulus Diaconus, Freculphus, Erricus of Auxerre, and Ado of Vienne, who all

[1] Tillemont says, "Il paraît que St. Prosper a travaillé trois fois à sa chronique et en a fait, pour ainsi dire, trois editions en 433 en 445 & en 455."

[2] Stillingfleet, Orig. 192.

[3] Collier, p. 103, tom. i.

agree that Germanus and Lupus received their commission for this employment from the Bishops of Gaul. Baronius, who is always careful to set the Pope at the head of Church business, endeavours to reconcile this matter, and offers to make Prosper's testimony consistent with the rest. To this purpose he tells us, 'that the Pope might approve of the choice of the synod, or might leave the nomination of his representative to the Bishops of Gaul.' But neither of these pretences will hold; for Prosper affirms Celestine sent him, *vice suâ*, in his own stead, which is very different from appointing a council to choose one to be sent. And Constantius affirms, 'that Germanus and Lupus undertook their voyage immediately,' which is a sign they did not stay for the Pope's instructions and approbation. Besides, the Gallican Bishops and Celestine had no good understanding at this time of day, they being looked upon at Rome as somewhat inclined to Semi-Pelagianism. This makes it highly improbable that either Celestine should refer the choice of his legate to these prelates, or that they should wait for his direction. There are likewise some different accounts in chronology hardly to be reconciled. As to the testimony of Prosper, about Celestine's sending St. German, it may be answered; first, that the Prosper published by Pithoeus never mentions it. Secondly, Prosper in his tract against Cassian, which undoubtedly belongs to him, does not affirm it. For there he only declares that Celestine took care to disengage Britain from Pelagianism. To this we may add, that supposing Prosper's testi-

mony is not interpolated, yet Constantius's authority is preferable to Prosper's in this matter; for Constantius was not only in a manner contemporary with St. German, but likewise a person of great eminency, as appears by Sidonius Apollinaris's Letters, and wrote with great exactness even by the confession of Baronius. Neither does Constantius stand single in this point, but the author of the Life of St. Lupus gives account, and so does Bede, and the rest of the historians above mentioned."

Having given Collier's words, let us see whether they have in reality that weight which at first sight they appear to have, with an especial reference to the more laboured dissertation of Stillingfleet, to whom Collier is chiefly indebted.

The authorities of Constantius, Bede, Paulus Diaconus, Freculphus, Erricus of Auxerre, and Ado of Vienne, are opposed to Prosper. Now it so happens that Constantius is the only one of these that can be cited as an original testimony, for all have borrowed from him even his very expressions, and all lived long after the events they commemorate. Bede wrote nearly three centuries after; and Paulus Diaconus, Freculphus, Ado of Vienne, and Erricus of Auxerre flourished about a century later than Bede.[1] It would have been desirable that Usher, Stillingfleet, and Collier had given distinct references to these authors whom they cite among the other testimonies which they likewise appeal to, but with greater precision. If we

[1] Bede was born 673, and died 735, or later. Collier 294. Paulus Diaconus, called Warnefrid, born 740. Freculphus born at the end of the eighth century, Bishop of Lisieux. Ado, Archbishop of Vienne, born about 800. Vid. Biog. Univer. Erricus of Auxerre dedicated his book to Charles le Chauve, in 876. Vid. Boll. Commen. Præv.

except Bede, their writings are not very generally known, and are found in few collections.[1]

With regard to Bede, any one who will take the trouble to inspect his account of German's mission to Britain in all its circumstances will at once perceive that Bede has closely followed Constantius through several successive pages, so as to make it unquestionable that he was guided by Constantius alone in his relation of those circumstances which are mentioned by this author. Constantius had said nothing about the originators of the heresy in Britain; this Bede first supplies apparently from Prosper. He says: "The Pelagian heresy introduced by Agricola, the son of Severianus, a Pelagian Bishop, had infected the faith of the Britons. But when the nation refused to accept this perverse doctrine and blaspheme in any way against the grace of Christ, and yet were not able to refute the deceits of these impious tenets, they adopted the salutary course of applying to the Gallican Bishops for assistance in their religious contest." He then falls into the narrative of Constantius, in which he continues for five chapters, deviating little from his authority. He describes the synod mentioned by Constantius with no other difference than what the explanation of one or two words required; while, on the other hand, some of the very same expressions are used. As Constantius gave no hint of the part Celestine the Pope had taken, neither does Bede. He says a council was assembled, inquiry into the emergency was instituted, German of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes were elected, and the two Apostles and

[1] Vid. Eccl. Hist. ch. xvii.

Bishops lost no time in setting off for Britain. But he says nothing about the manner in which the synod was convened, or the reasons that prevailed, or the persons who directed the deliberations. On the other hand, Bede supports the view here adopted by placing the mission of Palladius to the Scots at an earlier date[1] than that of German, and he distinctly says with Prosper, that Palladius the Bishop was sent by Celestine the Pontiff of Rome to the Scots, who believed in Christ.[2] This accounts, therefore, for the part which Prosper assigns to Palladius in turning the attention of Celestine towards Britain and the Pelagian heresy. On the whole, Bede gives nothing relative to the mission of German but what is found in Constantius and Prosper; while he omits to mention a fact which we shall see Prosper in two different works asserts.

Paulus Diaconus is the first in order of time among the other authors quoted by Collier. There are three historical works of his in the Bibliotheca Patrum;[3] in none of them can we find any statement concerning the subject in question. In his Historia Miscella (p. 265, p. 266, p. 268), during the period which extends from Constantine's usurpation in Britain, A.D. 407 to 511, there are indeed three notices of the civil affairs of Britain, but nothing is to be found concerning the ecclesiastical condition of that country. His work, De Episcopis Metensibus, is alike destitute of information to the point. And his history of the Lombards furnishes a mere view of the origin of that nation, and its fortunes from Justinian's time.

[1] 430, A.D.

[2] Eccl. Hist. ch. xiii., and also De sex ætatibus mundi, ad annum 4376 and 4402.

[3] Tom. xiii. Bibl. Patrum. *Lugduni.*

In the works of Freculphus and Ado we have something more to our purpose.[1] But then they are the mere copyists of Bede;[2] and their chronology is evidently false, for they make German and Lupus visit Britain for the first time after the Anglo and Saxons had taken possession of Britain. But let the reader convince himself of the little corroboration they supply to Bede's account, by comparing the following passages, the similarity of which requires not any scholarship to observe.

BEDE DE SEX ÆTAT.	FRECULPHUS, CHRON.	ADO, CHRON.
AD AN. 4376.		
Ad Scotos in Christum credentes, ordinatus a Papa Cælestino, Palladius I., Episcopus mittitur.	(Tunc equidem) ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cælestino Palladius I. Episcopo mittitur.	Scotis in Christum credentibus, ordinatus a Papa Cælestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur.
AD AN. 4402.		
Hæresis Pelagiana Britannorum turbat fidem, qui a Gallicanis Episcopis auxilium quærentes, Germanum Altissiodorensis Ecclesiæ Episcopum et Lupum Trecassenum æque Apostolicæ gratiæ antistitem fidei defensores accipiunt, &c.	(Tunc) hæresis Pelagiana Britannorum turbat fidem, qui a Gallicanis Episcopis auxilium quærentes, Germanum Altissiodorensis Ecclesiæ Episcopum et Lupum Trecassinum æque Apostolicæ gratiæ antistitem fidei defensores accipiunt, &c.	Hæresis Pelagiana Britannorum turbat fidem, qui a Gallicanis Episcopis auxilia quærentes Germanum Altissiodorensis Ecclesiæ Episcopum et Lupum Tricassinum æque Apostolicæ gratiæ antistites fidei defensores accipiunt.

[1] See Bibl. Patr. tom. 14, pp. 1189 and 1190, tom. xvi. pp. 796–97.

[2] Usher, p. 335, admits that all these writers have disregarded Prosper's chronology and followed Bede. Bede himself generally follows Prosper, and the reason for his departing in this instance is probably that he had one of the early and imperfect copies of Prosper's Chronicon, which seems to have been three times written.

Surely these writers, distinguished as they were, cannot be considered as independent testimonies even if we overlook the late date to which they belong. Nor has Erricus of Auxerre left any passage which might shake Prosper's testimony. Though somewhat farther removed from the age of German, yet as a monk of Auxerre, and a special inquirer into the life and miracles of our Saint, he might be expected to throw some fresh light on the point we are considering. But any one who will be at the pains to peruse the poetical version he has given of Constantius, will be surprised to find how very little real matter he has added to his model. In his account of the Synod he merely paraphrases Constantius without any appearance of having consulted other testimony.[1] This author is more worthy of attention in what regards the circumstances which followed German's death than for any information strictly biographical.

To conclude what may be said respecting these authorities quoted by Collier and Stillingfleet, with some remarks upon Constantius himself: it is asked, why did this writer omit all indication of Celestine's part in the transactions under inquiry if there were grounds for believing it. The answer is, first, that Constantius is a very unequal writer as regards plan and method ; he sometimes gives long details about one event, and passes cursorily over others of equal importance ; nay, he is silent on subjects which are of great interest. Thus, German's education and early life, his political career, the Bishops who con-

[1] Moreover, often what he did not learn from Constantius, like the rest, he took from Bede. Vid. De Mirac. 24, Boll.

secrated him, the rule and customs of his monastery (to mention a few instances), are left in great obscurity by him. His object was, in the main, plainly to give a narrative of the miracles and distinguished actions of German in compliance with the taste of the day.[1] There is little or nothing about Church matters, theological questions, and the like, although his great eminence in the literary world was noted in his own time.[2] In fact, they were not to his purpose. Again, Constantius may himself have been ignorant of the circumstances of the synod. Let it be remembered that he wrote sixty years after it was held; and though, as a youth, contemporary with the latter years of German, yet he was probably quite a child when the mission of German and Lupus took place.[3] Councils were very numerous at that time, and especially in Gaul, where one every year was gathered, as any person may see by referring to Guizot's France, in which a list of those only that are recorded is to be found. It is not then to be wondered if the Acta of this one should have escaped his observation, supposing them even to have existed at that time, and not to have been lost in the desolation which the bar-

[1] Hence the expression, "vitam gestaque, in connection with 'pro miraculorum numerositate,' innumerabilium miraculorum exempla."—Prolog. Const.

[2] Vid. Sidon. Epist.

[3] Compare his own words in the Prologue. "Tanta enim jam temporum fluxêre curricula, ut obscurata per silentium vix colligatur agnitio." Compare also what Dubos says, tom. i. 387. "*Si le Prêtre Constantius avait prévu la perte des livres qu'on avait de son temps, & qu'on n' a plus aujourd'hui il aurait été plus exact dans sa narration. —Mais cet auteur qui comptait sur ces Livres a évité les détails qui s'y trouvaient & nous sommes ainsi reduits à conjecturer.*"

barians, for the space of ten years, spread over the country after German's death.[1] On the whole, Constantius has transmitted next to nothing concerning the fact which he just mentions; for where it was held, and what Bishops attended, and at what time it took place, he has not told us, any more than by what authority it was called together.

What sanction have we then for asserting that Pope Celestine appointed German his Legate to Britain (as Baronius expresses it) with the understanding of the Gallican Bishops assembled at Troyes? We have seen it is that of St. Prosper Aquitanus. In the Chronicon Integrum of that author, published by Roncallius in 1787, and in Bouquet's Recueil des Historiens, tom. i. p. 630, we find the following passage, placed under the year when Florentius and Dionysius were consuls, that is in 429.

"Agricola Pelagianus, Severiani Episcopi filius, ecclesias Britanniæ dogmatis sui insinuatione corrupit sed ad actionem (or actione [2]) Palladii Diaconi Papa Cælestinus Germanum Antisiodorensem Episcopum vice suâ mittit, ut (or et) deturbatis hæreticis Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigat (or dirigit.)"

"Agricola the Pelagian, the son of Severianus the Bishop, corrupted the Churches of Britain, by insinuating his doctrines; but by the advice of Palladius the Deacon, Pope Celestine sent German, Bishop of Auxerre, as his representative, in order

[1] See Hericus Prol. ad Miracula Germ. Garnier, in his Marius Mercator, hints that these acts do still exist, but they have not been forthcoming, and he does not say where they are supposed to be. xxi. Synod.

[2] Bouquet.

that, after defeating the heretics, he might restore the Britons to the Catholic Faith."

This chronicle, say the editors referred to, is now considered the authentic production of Prosper by all the learned. But it has been objected, that it differs from another published by Pithoeus in the sixteenth century, which does not contain the passage just quoted. Now in truth the two works are altogether different compositions; and though they may each be brought as witnesses to what they each state, yet the silence of one cannot invalidate the testimony of the other. The Pithoean edition reckons the years by the Emperors, the other by the Consuls;[1] the former is very much the shorter of the two, and the style of both is different; nay, there is a passage in the Pithoean Ed. relating to the Predestinarians[2] which, as Stillingfleet himself confesses, could not have been written by Prosper Aquitanus.

There is then no reason why the Pithoean Chronicle of Prosper, on the ground of mere silence, should interfere with the passage given above, as the genuine words of Prosper Aquitanus, which few contest at present.[3] With regard to their respective notices of St. German, they are widely different. The Pithoean Edit. has :—

"Germanus Episcopus Antissiodori virtutibus et vitæ districtione clarescit." "German, the Bishop

[1] See Recueil, Bouquet, 635.

[2] At least in the Editions of Labb. and Maug., though Roncallius corrects it with the note (alia manu).

[3] Conf. apud Roncallium, Chronic. Prosp. ex. MS. Augustano, p. 691, et Chronic. Vatican. p. 715, ad. marg. Tillemont, Art. St. Prosper.

of Auxerre, flourishes, endued with great gifts, and eminent for strictness of life." This sentence is manifestly very different from the former, and it matters little whether it is by the same author or a different one.

But there is another work of Prosper which, though less explicit, is yet as satisfactory as can be desired, without being liable to the same objections of authenticity. We there find the following words :—

"Venerabilis memoriæ Pontifex Cælestinus,[1] nec verò segniore curâ, ab hoc eodem morbo (*i.e. Pelagianismo*) Britannias liberavit : quando quosdam inimicos gratiæ solum suæ originis occupantes, etiam ab illo secreto excludit Oceani : et ordinato Scotis Episcopo, *dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam*, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam."

"Pope Celestine of revered memory, with no less diligence and care, delivered Britain from the same disease; for he banished from those remote and sea-girt provinces certain adversaries of Divine Grace who were taking possession of the soil whence they had originated; and having ordained a Bishop for the Scots (*Palladius*), while he endeavoured to preserve that part of the island which was Roman in the Catholic faith (*i.e. through St. German*) he also made that part which was barbarian Christian (*by means of Palladius*)."

Prosper here assigns to Pope Celestine the office of removing Pelagianism from Britain. Now there

[1] Prosper contra Collat. in fine. apud Alford, 429, et in tom. x. Appendix August. Opera Bened.

are only two occasions on record when that heresy, after disturbing the country, was extirpated by foreign assistance, namely, when German came over for the first and second times. And it is agreed on all sides that the second time was long after Celestine's death.[1] It remains, therefore, that when German came to Britain the first time, then Celestine might rightly be said to deliver this island from the heresy; that is, German acted as his representative or Legate.[2] It is not intended that these titles signified precisely what they did in subsequent ages, nor that they excluded the idea of the authority of the Gallican synod being conjoined to that of Celestine. This fact is elsewhere proved. However the two passages of Prosper, taken together, establish one another so clearly, that they seem to place the matter beyond question.

The chronological difficulties to which Collier alludes are certainly more easily resolvable, by assigning the first mission to 429 instead of 446. Spelman and others, who have adhered to Bede's uncertain chronology, have involved their dates in the same confusion as that writer. And had Collier rather followed Usher than Stillingfleet (who, it must be confessed, causes perplexities by attempting to overthrow what after all he admits), he would have seen that Usher calls it a plain anachronism to postpone the journey of German and Lupus to 446.[3]

The date here recognised has been adopted by

[1] Celestine died 432. German was in Britain the second time in 446 or 447. —Boll. et Usher.

[2] Vice suâ.

[3] Conf. Boll. Com. Præv. § vi.

the majority of the learned; the authors of l'Art de vérifier les Dates, Bouquet, Tillemont, Usher, Fleury, Carte, Lingard, Guizot, &c.[1] If Celestine had any part in the matter, it must have been before 432, since he died in that year. And the writer of the life of St. Lupus is so far from authorising a date subsequent to this Pope's death, that he is one of those by whose testimony the chronology of Prosper is established. For, as Usher observes,[2] St. Lupus is said to have been joined with St. German two years after he had been made Bishop of Troyes, which event had taken place a year after he entered the Monastery of Lerins. Now the latest period to which the arrival of St. Lupus at Lerins can be assigned is 426, and consequently the mission to Britain, which was three years after, must have been, at the farthest, in 429, and in this inference he is supported by Garnier and the Bollandists.[3]

It appears then that Stillingfleet, who urges the misunderstanding of the Gallican Bishops with the See of Rome, is tacitly begging the question. The Deposition of Chelidonius, in which St. German took part, and which is supposed to have irritated against him the Pope, occurred in 444. And if this misunderstanding arose from the Semi-Pelagianism of some Gallican Bishops, it is not necessary, in the first place, that it should have infected all, including St. German; in the second, in 429 Semi-Pelagianism had but just appeared in Gaul, and was, as

[1] Carte, in a note, expresses a doubt, p. 182, v. i.
[2] P. 325, ed. 4to.
[3] Diss. 2, ch. 22. Comm. in Vitam Lupi.

yet, scarcely recognised or convicted; in the third place, though Arles, to which St. Hilary belonged, might be obnoxious to Rome (a mere conjecture), yet there is no reason why a Council at Troyes, in Champagne, must share in the displeasure; fourthly, the names of none of the assembled Bishops are given, except those of German and Lupus, and why those, who are not so much as named, must be guilty at Rome, is still to be shown; lastly, it is going too much out of the way to imply that St. German was Semi-Pelagian, because St. German was friend of St. Lupus, and St. Lupus was brother of Vincentius Lirinensis, and Vincentius Lirinensis was supposed to be infected with some errors of the kind. The answer to this is, that brothers do not always hold the same opinions, and friends do not necessarily agree with friends' brothers; and Vincentius, who is supposed without satisfactory foundation to have written in favour of the Semi-Pelagians, is allowed, even by his accusers, to have written only in 430, that is, after the Council of Troyes; while other authors deny that he ever composed the heretical work imputed to him. Nay, Ceillier, a high authority, thinks it is altogether very doubtful whether Vincentius Lirinensis was brother of St. Lupus, and he notices the silence of Gennadius, a writer near to the times in question.[1] And if it be urged that St. Lupus was commissioned to go to Britain, as well as St. German, which brings the last objection a step nearer, it is replied that St. Lupus also was appointed by the Gallican Bishops,

[1] Vid. Ceillier, tom. xiii. p. 583; et Tillemont, Art. Vincent. Petavius says the Commonitorium was written in 434. Doct. Temp. vol. ii.

and there is no authority for supposing the Pope to have nominated him, whereas there is in the case of St. German. If, then, the Gallican Bishops and St. Lupus were all Semi-Pelagians, it is not surprising, forsooth, that the Delegate should have resembled the Commissioners. But let us not imagine, unnecessarily, schism in Christian Bishops, heresy in Saints.

The recent editor of the very ancient Life of St. Lupus seems to have shown satisfactorily that Troyes was the place where the Council was held.[1]

From this last source then we learn, as well as may be, the place of the Council; from Prosper, the intervention of the Pope Celestine and the date; and from Constantius, the inquiry and decision of the Synod.[2]

It need only be added that circumstantial evidence is in favour of the general view here taken. It was by the advice of St. German that St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, went to Rome to get his commission, according to Hericus of Auxerre, whom Usher, who well knew St. Patrick's history, approves.[3] His words are as follows: "Patrick, the special Apostle of Ireland, during eighteen years[4] (*authors differ about the time*) remained under his tuition, and received great knowledge in the Scriptures from his instructions. Whereupon the Bishop (German) seeing how great a divine Patrick had become, how excellent in his conduct and sound in his opinions, and wishing a labourer so

[1] Boll. Tom. vii. Julii.
[2] Comp. Usher, Index. Chron. p. 1097.
[3] Usher, p. 1100.
[4] De Mir. Lib. i. ch. xxi.

vigorous might not remain idle in the Lord's vineyard, sent him, together with his presbyter Segetius, to St. Celestine, Bishop of Rome, that Segetius might bear witness to the merits of Patrick before the Apostolical See. Approved by the judgment of the Pope, supported by his authority and strengthened with his blessing, Patrick went to the regions of Hibernia as the Apostle of that nation."[1]

Again there is no doubt that St. Palladius, the Apostle of the Scots, was sent by Celestine. Both Prosper and Bede agree in this.

There is a probability that the title of "Apostolici Sacerdotes," which Constantius gives to German and Lupus, might denote that they were authorised by the one Apostolical See of the West. But the context seems scarcely to warrant this conjecture of Alford, and the frequent use of the word in contemporary writers, in the sense of Holy, and as we should say, Primitive, makes the other sense, which is indeed also found, the less probable in this instance.

But a better argument is deduced from the circumstances of St. German's journey to Arles *after his mission*, to which there will soon be occasion more fully to advert again. Auxiliaris was then Prefect, and he was no longer Prefect in 444; consequently German must have been in Britain before 446. Again, if St. Eucher had been Bishop of Lyons when German passed through that town, in going to Arles, Constantius would have men-

[1] So Jocelin. Vid. Alford, an. 431. Stillingfleet, 211.

tioned it, for St. Eucher was one of the most eminent men of his time, and Constantius was Priest in that very town. But St. Eucher was Bishop in 444, for he then joined Hilary and German in deposing Chelidonius, Bishop of Besançon. Therefore when German passed by it was before 444. Therefore he was in Britain before 446. But of this more hereafter.

CHAPTER XIII

ST. GERMAN'S FIRST VISIT TO BRITAIN

St. Lupus, who was chosen to be the colleague of St. German, was one of the most eminent men of his time. His Life, which is still existing, and is almost as ancient as the Saint himself, informs us that he was born at Toul, in Lorraine, of a noble family, A.D. 383.[1] His father was called Epirichius, who died early, and left the care of Lupus to his brother Listicius, which latter bestowed great pains on his education. When he grew up he married Pimeniola, the sister of St. Hilary of Arles. After they had been married seven years, by mutual consent they parted from each other, and Lupus retired to the Monastery of Lerins, in the south of France, where Honoratus was then Abbot. There he lived a year, after which, as he was returning to Mâcon to give away all his fortune to the poor, he was suddenly carried off to Troyes in Champagne, and with universal approbation instituted Bishop of that place. His learning, his ardour, his eloquence, his holiness, ranked him among the most distinguished Bishops of Gaul. He was an intimate friend of St. Sidonius Apollinaris, with whom some fragments of his correspondence re-

[1] Bolland. xxix. Jul. Vid. Ceillier, tom. xv. 40.

main. He is there called by Sidonius a Father of Fathers, a Bishop of Bishops, a second St. James,[1] in allusion to a similar expression of St. Clement concerning St. James the Less. He had been only two years at Troyes, when the synod which was held there nominated him Apostle to Britain in conjunction with St. German. The date of his birth will show that he was junior to German by at least five years. He was at this time forty-six years of age; German was in his fifty-first year. This distinction of age may account for the somewhat subordinate capacity in which he is represented with regard to German in the following account of their joint mission.

The two Apostles, for such they are always called by contemporary writers, lost no time in doing the work which was committed to them. They directed their course towards Paris, through Sens and Melun, which, as we all know, is the straight road to England, and stopped at Metrodorum, now called Nanterre, about two leagues from the present capital of France. The inhabitants of the place came out to receive them on their arrival, and obtain their blessing. While German was talking to the people, he perceived in the midst of them a little girl about six years old,[2] who appeared to him to have the radiance of an angel on her countenance. He desired that she might be brought nearer to him. He then embraced the child, and asked who she was. Genevieve he was told was her name; her father was Severus and

[1] Lib. vi. Ep. i. Et Notas.

[2] 423, A.D., is assigned as the year of her birth.

her mother Gerontia. The parents, who seem to have been persons of consideration, were then called to answer the inquiries of German. When they arrived, endued with a prophetical spirit, he congratulated them on having such a daughter, pronouncing her to be a chosen vessel of God, and one who would hereafter become a bright example to all.

He then requested Genevieve (who was no other than the illustrious patron Saint of Paris) to open her mind to him, and confess whether she intended to adopt the holy life of a Virgin, and become one of the Spouses of Christ. She declared that such was her desire, and that she had cherished it for some time, and entreated him to add his sanction and benediction. Having exhorted her to persevere in her purpose, he led her with him to the Church of Nanterre, accompanied by all the people. The Divine Service then began. The two offices of nones and vespers were united, during which a long series of psalms were sung, and protracted prayers offered up.[1] All the while German continued to hold his hand upon the head of the girl. The office ended, and they retired for refreshment.

The following day German inquired of Genevieve whether she was mindful of her late profession.[2] Upon which, as if full of the Divine Spirit, she expressed her determination to act up to it, and desired he would always remember her in his prayers. While they were conversing, German beheld on the ground a copper coin with the impression of the

[1] Nonam et duodecimam celebrant. Vit. Genov. Jan. iii. Bolland.
[2] This seems decided proof that the child was very young.

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cross upon it. The interposition of God was deemed manifest. Accordingly taking up the coin, he presented it to Genevieve, and charged her to hang it to her neck, and always carry it about with her in remembrance of him. Other ornaments such as the world offers, gold and precious stones, she was enjoined to renounce. "Let them," he said, "who live for this life have these; do thou, who art become the Spouse of Christ, desire spiritual adorning." He then took leave of her, recommended her to the special attention of her parents, and resumed his journey with Lupus. In remembrance of this present of German to Genevieve, there long remained among the Canons of St. Genevieve at Paris, the custom of distributing annually on her festival a piece of bread blessed, with an image of the coin impressed upon it. We may remark, moreover, how early the practice prevailed among Christians of carrying at their necks some token of the mysteries of their religion; and also, that the profession of a religious life was a formal act, not merely an internal resolution of the soul.

The two Bishops soon arrived at the sea-shore. The winter months had now set in. But regardless of the weather, they embarked, says Constantius, upon the ocean with Christ for their leader.[1] The ship at first was carried out from the harbour of Gaul by soft gales, till it reached the middle of the Channel, and lost all sight of the land. Shortly after, the power of demons seemed to be roused over the wide expanse. Filled, as it were, with

[1] Vid. Vita St. Lupi. "Temporibus hybernis mari se committente."

wicked and malicious envy towards the holy men who undertook to restore a nation to the paths of salvation, they immediately began to excite the storms, and cover the sky with thick clouds, which spread gloom and darkness over the horizon. The sails were unable to resist the fury of the winds, and the vessel began to yield to the weight of the waves. The sailors at last relinquished their post, and the ship was left to the sole aid of prayer. While these things were passing, the chief person in the expedition, wearied with previous fatigues, had fallen asleep. He was still in this state, when the tempest broke through all obstacles and the ship began to sink. Then Lupus and the whole crew rushed in great alarm to their venerable brother and awoke him, hoping to oppose effectually his strength to the elements. In the midst of the danger German remained perfectly calm, and calling upon the name of Christ, rebuked the raging of the sea. At the same time taking oil, he sprinkled some over the waves, in the name of the Blessed Trinity.[1] Immediately they began to subside. Afterwards German, with the same composure, addressed words of encouragement to Lupus and his fellow-travellers. They then prayed all together. In the meantime the last efforts of the evil spirits were subdued, and tranquillity was restored to the sea and to the air. The winds changed their direction, and carried the vessel safely towards the British shore.

We are not told precisely where German landed

[1] Alford, in this connection, observes with Baronius, that this sprinkling of oil does not relate to the sacramental ordinance mentioned by St. James, but is to be referred to the example proposed in St. Mark.

in Britain; but, as Whitaker says, the harbour of Rhutupiæ, or Richborough, between the mouth of the Thames and Dover, was the great entrance from Gaul to this island. It was there St. Augustine subsequently landed, and the Roman troops generally were disembarked at this spot, as the Antonine Itinerary testifies. When German and Lupus set foot on shore, they were received by a multitude of people, who had come from all sides to greet them. It appears the evil spirits, by means of the prophetic exclamations of some possessed persons, had given notice of their approach.

The fame of the two Apostolical envoys soon spread all over the country. Their preaching and signs attracted crowds to the Churches they visited. On their journey, also, they were accompanied by a large concourse of people. And such was the zeal everywhere displayed, that they were forced to stop and address the multitudes in the fields and highways. On all these occasions they endeavoured to eradicate the seeds of Pelagianism from the hearts of their hearers. Nor did the event disappoint their expectations. Their boldness and consciousstrength, their learning, orthodox teaching and sanctity, carried the feelings of all with them; insomuch that the authors of the Pelagian leaven were obliged to remain hid, and mourn in silence the defection of their disciples. At last they gathered their forces and resolved to encounter the two Bishops. Like the Arian faction at Constantinople, they trusted the display of worldly importance would prevail over the unassisted appeals of truth. They came to the Conference with a splendid train. Riches and

glittering garments distinguished their party; a body of complaisant followers was ready to support their assertions. The Synod (for such appears to have been the nature of the assembly where the two parties met) was attended by great numbers. Many Bishops and Priests, doubtless, were there, anxious to see what foreign assistance might effect for the destruction of a heresy which they had in vain endeavoured to stifle. At the same time, a number of the laity were allowed to assist, with their wives and children. It should seem some vast and open place was selected for the reception of all who were interested in the issue; and the publicity of the Conference in itself was desirable as a means of disabusing the people.

In all respects the contrast between the parties was striking. The language of the Pelagians, says Constantius, presented more of empty verboseness than forcible argument. And, indeed, the general effect of their harangues may have been such. But when we reflect upon the maturity to which the heresy had arrived, the acuteness which ever characterised its maintainers, the deep root it had taken in Britain, and the difficulty which the Catholic clergy had experienced in their struggle against it, we cannot but modify the import of his expressions by the nature of the circumstances. The most elaborate and subtle discussions of heretics may sometimes, to orthodox ears, who do not perceive the drift of them, have the appearance of shallowness and irrelevancy. Again, anything in one sense may be considered as unphilosophical and superficial which is not true. And after all, it was the

popular impression which Constantius was concerned to transmit. On the other hand, he says German and Lupus, who were profoundly versed in the Scriptures and theological learning, and by nature eloquent, were able to support the arguments which reason and conscience dictated to them, by the most convincing appeals to authority and tradition. The truth of this assertion is abundantly shown by the result; for their adversaries were completely silenced by the answers they received, and even confessed their own errors; while the people, astonished at their signal discomfiture, were ready to lay violent hands upon them.

Some suppose this Council, which historically deserves an importance apart from the scanty records which notice it, to have taken place at London, others at Verulam or St. Alban's. The latter opinion, which is the most favoured by critics, is derived from Matthæus Florilegus, who wrote in 1307, A.D., and is, therefore, no very safe authority. Camden tells us that some old parchments of the Church of St. Alban's bear witness that St. German went up to the pulpit, and harangued the people, in the place where there is still a small chapel dedicated to him. Spelman and Alford, who are followed by Collier, incline to this view.[1] However, as German harangued the people wherever he went, nothing can be inferred from the parchments of St. Alban's as to this particular Synod. And Constantius would rather lead us to suppose that Ger-

[1] See also Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire. He makes the odd mistake of assigning this circumstance to 401, t. i. p. 6. Collier, p. 103, i. Spelman Concilia. Alford, 429.

man removed from the place where it was held to go to St. Alban's, which could hardly be said had he been in the town. We are informed that the Acta, or account of the proceedings, are still in existence,[1] as well as those of the Gallican Synod before mentioned; but in whose possession they are is a mystery. Boethius, a late writer, in his History of the Scotch, seems indeed to be the only authority for assigning the present Council to London; and yet it is the opinion which tallies best with the probabilities of circumstances. London was at this time the most important town in the south; a Bishop resided there, who must have been the Metropolitan, if not of the whole province yet of a great part of it. Besides, London was in the way to St. Alban's.

Scarcely had the Conference ended when an officer in the Roman service, accompanied by his wife, advanced towards German and Lupus. He was a Tribune, and at that time his office was one of great importance, as it ranked next to that of Count or Duke. In all great cities there was a Tribune, who had both the command of the troops and the superintendence of the civil affairs, and was responsible only to the governor or Duke of the Province.[2] The Tribune presented to the two Bishops his little daughter, who was blind, and requested them to bestow such relief as lay in their power. But he was desired to try first the skill of their Pelagian adversaries, miracles having always been considered by the Church the proper evi-

[1] Vid. Boll. Comm. Præv. § 59. Tillemont, t. xv.
[2] Dubos, tom. i. p. 80.

dence of true doctrine. But they who had now learnt to think more humbly of themselves united in demanding her cure at the hands of German and Lupus. A short prayer was then offered up, and German, full of the Holy Ghost, called upon the Blessed Trinity, pulled from his breast the little box of relics, which he ever carried about him, and applied it to the eyes of the girl. Her sight was restored at once. This miracle, performed in the presence of so great a multitude, gave the finishing stroke to Pelagianism. In those parts the heretics were totally suppressed, and the people restored to purity of faith. If we might credit the assertion of the author quoted above, Boethius, there were some who refused to renounce their false tenets, and who were burnt at the stake by the civil magistrates. It is true, the secular power had been armed against the heresy, and some severities had been exercised in Gaul through the imperial edicts; but that a deed of this magnitude should have been left unnoticed by Constantius, when the context would have required at least some allusion to it, seems sufficient to disprove the supposed fact; add to which, the cruelty which half a century before had been displayed against the Priscillianists, and had been so earnestly deprecated by St. Martin, would have left an impression calculated to avert any unnecessary return of it.

However, German and Lupus having concluded the conference, proceeded to St. Alban's tomb at Verulam, in order to return thanks to God. In this they did but comply with the custom of the country, in the veneration of which St. Alban held the

rank of Patron Saint. His name is still familiar to most Englishmen, though his history is involved in much obscurity. He has deserved the honour of being called the first British Martyr, and was probably put to death in the persecution of Maximian, the colleague of Diocletian, the fury of which has already been adverted to. The famous Abbey which still stands over his relics was not built till the year 790, by Offa, king of Mercia, consequently long after German's visit.[1] But there was a Church or Basilica already there at this time.

When German arrived public prayers were performed; after which he caused the tomb of the Saint to be opened, and deposited within some of the relics of the Apostles and Martyrs which he carried with him, under the sense, says Constantius, that there was a propriety in joining in one receptacle the bones of those who at the most distant parts of the world had exhibited the same virtues. At the same time he took up from the very spot where the blood of the Martyr had been shed a handful of dust, which by the red stain it still preserved, bore witness to the fury of persecution.[2] This he subsequently took to Auxerre, where he built a Church in honour of St. Alban, which, says Hericus, was held in the highest veneration. It was such actions as that just related which excited the indignation of the heretic Vigilantius, not long before the events under consideration, when he exclaimed: "We have now to see almost the rites of the Gentiles introduced under pretence of re-

[1] See Moreri, Dict. ad vocem. Bosch. Not. ad Const.

[2] Hericus, Vita Metr. B. iv. § 94, and De Mir. § 7.

ligion, a little dust forsooth, enveloped in a precious cloth and placed in a convenient vessel, which men kiss and worship." In answer to which St. Jerome said: "We do not adore even the Sun or the Moon, or the Angels, much less the relics of Martyrs; but we do honour the relics of Martyrs in order to adore Him for whom they are Martyrs. We honour the servants, that their honour may redound unto that of their Lord."[1] But to return.

Three centuries after, we are told, that king Offa found at Verulam the coffin of St. Alban, which had been hidden, for fear of the barbarians, together with the same relics of the Apostles and Martyrs which German had there deposited.[2] On which occasion the people that were present, both clergy and laymen, were so moved at the sight that they shed tears of joy and thanksgiving.

There is little or no credit to be attached to the story of the Monks of Cologne, who in the Middle Ages asserted that German had carried the remains of St. Alban to Rome, and that at a future time they were brought to their city. The body in fact remained entire at Verulam, where a chapel was afterwards built in honour of St. German and his visit to the Martyr's remains. This chapel in process of time formed a part of the great Abbey of St. Albans.[3]

After German had visited the shrine of St. Alban he met with an accident (the only one which is

[1] Vid. Apud Thom. Aquin. Qu. xxv. Ast. 2.

[2] Matt. Floril. apud Usseri. 329.

[3] Vid. Dugdale, and a quotation from Matt. Paris, in Alford ad an. 441.

recorded in his long life), which though not of a very serious nature, yet impeded his progress. Having bruised his foot, he was obliged to stop and take up his abode in a cottage. During his stay a fire broke out in the neighbourhood, which spread with so much the more rapidity as the roofing of the houses was of thatch, a circumstance not unimportant in these days of antiquarian research.[1] Men from all sides came to warn him of the danger, but he remained perfectly composed, and would not suffer himself to be removed. All the buildings around were burned to the ground, while that in which he was detained, as if by a miracle, escaped the flames.

In the meantime German continued to endure the pain which his accident had produced without accepting any remedy. One night a person clad in white garments appeared to him and raised him up. At that instant he recovered the use of his leg, and prepared to resume his journey. The reader will be reminded of the angel who appeared to St. Peter.

About this time it is supposed St. Patrick, the future Apostle of Ireland, came to visit St. German, and consult him about his studies and the means of converting men. This does not appear to have been the first interview of these Saints. St. Patrick was probably under the care and tuition of St. German several years before. There are few things better attested than their friendship and intercourse, and in all the accounts of St. Patrick's life it is

[1] Comp. Hallam, Middle Ages, and an article in Archæological Journal, No. 3.

believed the names of both are united. Yet the exact circumstances of their connection are seemingly uncertain and confused from the very variety of the witnesses. William of Malmesbury dates their intimacy from this journey of German to Britain; and a few years after, supposes German to have obtained the sanction of Pope Celestine for sending St. Patrick as Apostle to Ireland.[1] These events, however, belong rather to a life of St. Patrick. It is sufficient here to commemorate that union which existed between two such eminent men; and it may afford a further proof of the holiness of both, that German was the friend of Patrick, Patrick of German. Constantius says nothing about it, but his commentator, Hericus of Auxerre, supplies the omission.

While German was detained by his accident, a great number of sick persons came to see him to be cured of their respective diseases. Others came to desire spiritual instruction. German healed the first and enlightened the latter. The miraculous power which is assigned to him in healing sick people can only be compared with that which St. Peter and St. Paul possessed, concerning whom it is said that by them "they were healed every one" whosoever had any disease.

[1] Vid. Usher, p. 840. Bede and Capgrave apud Alford, 429.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ALLELUIATIC VICTORY

WITH the names of the Picts and Scots, who, it has been seen, infested Britain during the early part of the fifth century, that of the Saxons has been mentioned in a previous chapter, which the reader may either not have observed, or may have looked upon as an anachronism. According to the chronology that has been adopted, the Invasion, properly so called, of the Saxons and Angles took place nearly twenty years after the first visit of German, that is in 448, A.D., if we follow Alford, or in 450 if Usher be heard. But it has been proved beyond question, from contemporary writers, that the Saxons made occasional descents upon the island long before their final settlement. So early as the beginning of the reign of Valentinian I., that is, about 364, the Britons were attacked by them. And to secure them from the insults of this foreign enemy, a subsequent emperor appointed a Comes Littoris Saxonici, that is, a Commanding Officer, to guard the coasts of Britain which were most exposed to their assaults.[1] Nay, earlier even than this, in 286, during the reign of Diocletian, En-

[1] Ammian. Marcellin. Hist. Lib. 26, apud Usserium. Notit. Imper. —Collier.

tropius tells us that the Saxons, with the Franks, infested the Districts of Belgica and Armorica, the latter of which faces the southern coast of Britain, which consequently must have shared in the calamity.[1] For all contemporary writers bear witness to the boldness and extent of their piratical exploits. "The Saxons," says Orosius the historian, "who dwell on the shores of the Atlantic (what we should call the North Sea) in the midst of impassable marshes, are a nation terrible for their courage and activity, and highly formidable to the Roman power."[2] "It is a mere amusement," says Sidonius Apollinaris, "for the pirate Saxon to cut through the British Sea in his pinnace of osier and skins."[3] And in fact the Saxons in these light skiffs, similar in materials to those described by Herodotus with regard to the Armenians, used to undertake very distant expeditions. They were known to have penetrated as far as the Columns of Hercules at the extremity of Spain, and Britain, which lay foremost in their way, naturally became the object of continual aggression. What was the precise situation of their own country is not very clear. The words of Orosius, just quoted, seem to show that they occupied the coast of Germany which extends between the Rhine and the Weser, known by the name of Friesland. And such is the opinion of a writer of those parts, Bernardus Furnerius, in his Annals of the Frisian people.[4]

[1] Dubos, tom. i. p. 75. [2] Ibid. 169.

[3] Sid. Apoll. Paneg. Aviti. See also Hegesippus, Eccl. Hist. Lib. v. Pliny, Hist. Lib. iv. ch. 16. Lucan, Pharsal. Lib. iv. Cæsar, Comment. Lib. i. Bell. Civ. Herod Clio. 194 ch.

[4] Ed. 1609, Franecaræ.

While German and Lupus were in Britain, one of these plundering expeditions of the Saxons took place. They joined their forces to those of the Picts, the eternal enemies of the Britons, and made a descent upon the coasts of North Wales, in Flintshire. They chose a favourable spot for their attack, having rowed or towed their boats up the river Dee, and landed under the Welsh hills, near Mold. The Britons, who had assembled to oppose them, found themselves unable to cope with the peculiar tactics of their enemy, and were constrained to remain within their own entrenchments. The descriptions which have been left of the mode of attack practised by the Saxons will best explain the reasons of their embarrassment.

In their light vessels, which they were careful to fill with expert and resolute men, the Saxons never used to lose sight of the land, if possible; and indeed the nature of their boats required but little depth of water. When a storm came on they took refuge in some creek, or beneath the cliffs on the coast. At the return of the fair weather they again left their place of refuge, and directing their course from cape to cape, they stopped wherever any occasion of plunder offered. The want of our modern resources of artillery rendered all offensive measures against these invaders quite useless. It was a frequent custom with them, as on the present occasion, to navigate up the rivers which came in their way; and sometimes they might have been found at the distance of fifty leagues from the sea, like the Normans in the ninth century, whose predatory fleets were seen in the Seine under the walls of

Paris. When they had advanced so far into the land as to begin to lack depth of water, the men got ashore to lighten the boats, which they towed along. A whole army of them thus used to descend upon those defenceless tracts of country where the vigilance of the Maritime Commanders had not prevented their progress. The chief means which were employed to resist them consisted in the use of a number of flat boats which the Roman Government had stationed in the rivers, and bridges thrown across the stream near the walls of cities to obstruct the passage of the enemy.[1] An extract from a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris will show how difficult it was to repel them, and will illustrate some characteristics of their manners as well as those of their allies the Picts and Scots. He writes thus to a friend :—

"I have been informed that you have given the signal of departure to your fleet, and are performing the parts of both sailor and soldier, wandering along the tortuous coasts of the sea in pursuit of those long curved skiffs of the Saxons.[2] Of course as many of them as you perceive at the oar, you may reckon to be so many arch-pirates ; for indeed all at once command, obey, instruct, and learn to plunder. I have great reason then in recommending precaution to you. These of all our enemies are the most fierce. They attack by surprise, and escape when discovered. They despise your preparations, and yet, if you do not take measures, they are instantly upon you. They never pursue

[1] Vid. Dubos, pp. 75 and 175.
[2] "Pandos myoparones."

without success, never make away without impunity. Shipwrecks, instead of alarming them, are a mere exercise. With the perils of the sea they are more than acquainted, they are familiar. If a tempest supervene, they know this, that their designed victims will be off their guard, and that they will escape notice out at sea. And in the midst of the waves and the rocks there they play with danger, expecting shortly a successful descent. If, when about to set sail for their own country, they weigh anchor before their enemy's coast, they have this preliminary custom. Just before they start they decimate their captives for cruel tortures, which are the more horrid from the superstition that dictates them. They think that chance which presides at the drawing of lots is of that equitable nature, that all the iniquity which might be imputed to such frightful slaughter is as a matter of course removed. And as if purified by these sacrifices, not rather polluted by the sacrilege, the perpetrators of this bloody deed make it a point of religion to prefer the death of their captives to any proffered ransom."

It was this last practice mentioned by Sidonius which made probably Salvian some years before call the Saxons emphatically the savage Saxons.[1] It does not appear the Picts and the Scots were less cruel under the similar influence of Paganism and superstition. The two Apostles of those nations, St. Palladius and St. Patrick, had not yet set out to convert them.

The combined forces of these nations were laying

[1] "Ferus Saxon," De Gubern.

waste the country of Flintshire, and forcing the Britons who had assembled to oppose them to remain within their entrenchments, when a deputation arrived in the parts where German and Lupus were preaching, and requested them as a last resource to come to the assistance of the exposed army. They readily complied, and hastening their progress soon arrived near Mold, in Flintshire, or, as the Welsh call it, Guid-cruc, where they found the Britons collected. Their arrival infused at once joy and confidence into all hearts, as if holiness, we are told, had been in itself an equivalent to a large army. The two Prelates were then constituted Generals of the British Forces, one of the earliest instances in which ecclesiastical rulers are known to have taken the lead in military exploits.

It was now the season of Lent, that is, the spring of the year 430. The Britons were wont to observe the Forty days with particular solemnity; and the presence of German and Lupus now added to the strictness of their observance. Every day the two Bishops preached to the soldiers; insomuch, says Constantius, that there was a general wish to receive the grace of Baptism; and a great number were initiated into the Church at the river Alen which ran beside the camp.[1] By this we are to understand that there were as yet many Pagans in Britain, which the analogy of other countries would confirm, or that there were many persons who, though professing the Christian religion, deferred their baptism till the last, according to a corrupt

[1] Alen is called Strat-Alen by the Welsh. See Camden.

custom very prevalent in all Christendom, which was frequently reprobated from the pulpit, and of which Constantine the Great had been a striking example.[1] But this last cause, which has escaped the attention of critics, need not be taken alone. Probably the Catechumens were a mixed number of both classes.

The Saturday night, called the Great Sabbath, and the following morning of Easter Day were the times appointed in the Church for Baptism; and apparently were devoted to this purpose in the army of the Britons. On Easter Day, which this year fell on the 30th of March, a temporary Church was erected with the branches of trees, and adapted to the offices of religion like churches in towns.[2] Hither the people fresh from the waters of Baptism thronged to celebrate the Resurrection of our Lord. While they were thus employed the enemy, who received intelligence of what was going on in the British army, immediately seized the opportunity, and advanced towards the camp. Their march was announced just as the Solemnities of Easter were concluded. The neophyte army, filled with extraordinary ardour, prepared for battle. German acted the part of commander. With some light troops he proceeded to survey the country; and found in the direction which the enemy would necessarily take a valley surrounded with high hills. Here he posted the body of his army. Soon after the Saxons and the Picts arrived at

[1] Vid. St. Chrys. ad Acta Apost. Hom. I., and Bingham, who has explained the various reasons of the practice.

[2] Tillemont, xv. 18.

the entrance of the valley, secure of victory, and unconscious of any ambuscade. Suddenly a loud shout of Alleluia resounded in the mountains, and Alleluia passed from hill to hill, gathering strength as it was re-echoed on all sides. Consternation filled them at once; and as if the rocks were ready to fall and crush them, seized with a general panic they immediately took to flight, leaving their arms, baggage, and even clothes behind them. A large number perished in the river. The Britons, who had remained motionless, and were by order of German the authors of the cry of Alleluia, now came forth to collect the spoils of a victory which all acknowledged the gift of Heaven. Thus, says Constantius, did Faith obtain a triumph, without slaughter, with two Bishops for leaders. Thus might it be said, with a modern writer, does the Church conquer. "Not by strength of arm, by a soldiery, implements of war, strongholds, silver and gold, for of these she has none; but by the visible tokens of a Divine ministry; by the weapons of God."[1]

The memory of this battle is still preserved by the inhabitants of Flintshire; and the place where the armies were situated bears even now the name of Maes Garmon, or the Field of German. It is about a mile from Mold. A glance at the map will show that the mountainous nature of the country afforded both scope for an ambuscade and a convenient locality for the landing of the Barbarians. To this event, which goes in history by the name

[1] Sermons on Subjects of the Day, p. 274.

of the Alleluiatic Victory, Gregory the Great three hundred years after seems to have alluded, in his Commentary on the Book of Job: "The Faith of the Lord," he says, "has now found entrance into the hearts of almost all people;[1] and has united in one bond the Eastern and Western regions. Behold the tongue of the Briton, once wont to howl in barbarous sounds, has since learnt to resound the Hebrew Alleluia in praise to God. The ocean once so boisterous is become subservient to the will of Saints; and its rage, which the arm of princes is unable to tame, is fettered by the simple word of God's Priests."

It may seem somewhat strange to the student that Gildas should not have made mention of this signal event, in his History of Britain previous to the Saxon Conquest. In that work the name of St. German is not once mentioned. It may be answered that Gildas, in another work which, according to the earliest tradition, he was supposed to have written, did probably give a special notice of St. German and his deeds. Walfrid of Monmouth tells us that through St. German and St. Lupus God manifested many miracles, *which Gildas in his Treatise had clearly set forth.* And we learn that besides his History and Epistle, Gildas wrote an account of the victory of Aurelius Ambrosius, who lived about this time.[2] And though it may be said that the History of Nennius is often attributed to Gildas by early writers, yet we have no proof that this particular work was the same as

[1] Vid. apud Usserium, p. 333, and Alford, an. 429.
[2] See Usher, 335 and 101.

the History which now is given to Nennius; besides which Nennius himself in many parts of his book may be looked upon as the Transcriber of Gildas. But furthermore in Gildas's acknowledged history, he is anything but circumstantial, and he confesses himself that he wrote from foreign report, and not from the records of native writers,[1] adding that precision on that account was not always to be expected of him. And in truth much of his history is vague and applicable to any revolution caused by foes from without and dissensions within. Again, Gildas was further removed from the times he describes than Constantius, and even supposing he had nowhere commemorated St. German's great deeds, the contrary of which is more probable, yet the confusion which the Saxon Conquest had thrown over the past, and the straits to which Gildas was exposed through emigration, might account for important omissions. But there is more than this; it is believed that in one of his indefinite descriptions of the state of the Britons he has expressly alluded to the Alleluiatic Victory, when he says, "Then for the first time the Britons obtained a victory over the enemy who for many years had occupied their land, *because they confided not in man but in God*, according to the saying of Philo: 'When human aid fails, one must have recourse to Divine assistance.' Then the daring enemies rested for a season; but the corruption of the Britons afterwards returned; the public foes retired from the land, but not the nation from their crimes."

[1] Transmarinâ relatione, p. 13.

Now the great objection to this view is, that Gildas assigns the event in question to a time subsequent to the embassy of the Britons to Aetius, which took place in 446. Therefore, it may be said, it could not coincide with St. German's first mission, which we have assigned to 429, though it might if the chronology of Bede and others be preferred to that of Prosper. But without making this any ground for delaying St. German's first mission, for the authority of Gildas in this point would be next to none, still it is very conceivable that Gildas may have referred the victory against the barbarians to his second mission,[1] which in fact did take place after the embassy to Aetius, that is, in 447; or may altogether have confounded the two visits of the Saint to this Island, which is the more probable, as his imitator, Nennius, who is so full about St. German, does not seem to have been aware of them, and Gildas affords no trace of having been acquainted with Constantius's work; both he and Nennius following authorities of their own. The learned, moreover, are agreed that the chronology and precision of Gildas are by no means to be pressed without examination. Yet as there is reason also to think he would not have mentioned a fact without foundation for it, the passage above quoted is conceived to be a real and distinct reference to the Alleluiatic Victory, which was so especially the gift of Heaven.

Lastly, if a conjecture may be hazarded, the very indistinctness in which Bede has involved his chron-

[1] The learned Carte in a note inclines to this also, p. 182.

ology of this period, may have arisen from the confusion of the two visits of St. German by Gildas, or at least by his having postponed the Alleluiatic Victory. Induced by Constantius, his chief authority on one hand, he preserved the connection between the first overthrow of Pelagianism and the Victory, while on the other following Gildas as to the probable date of the latter, because Constantius had assigned none, he transferred the combined circumstances to the late epoch of 449.[1] And this may account in some measure for his seeming neglect of St. Prosper's authority (if indeed he was acquainted with the copy of that writer's Chronicon which has here been considered genuine), namely, that Gildas had referred the Alleluiatic Victory to a period about twenty years later than that to which St. Prosper assigns the first overthrow of Pelagianism, and Bede did not think himself justified in breaking the connection which Constantius had observed, a connection which after all Constantius himself may (not impossibly) have been misinformed in.

[1] See Epit. Eccl. Hist. et Sex Ætat. Mundi.

CHAPTER XV

ENGLISH TRADITIONS

GERMAN and Lupus remained less than a year in Britain, but during that short time they rendered invaluable services to the people. There are many difficulties connected with this part of their history, as regards those facts which are not specified by Constantius. But it is manifest from numerous and circumstantial traditions that they effected a reform in many ways in the political constitution as well as in the Church. Those changes which relate to the former will be reserved for a subsequent consideration, since they properly belong to St. German's second visit to Britain, during which he was brought more directly into intercourse with king Vortigern. The following few traditions, out of many, will illustrate the ecclesiastical and moral improvements which are attributed to the sojourn of German and Lupus in this country.

"The two Bishops," says an ancient record of high authority, "after having extirpated the Pelagian heresy,[1] consecrated Bishops in many places, but chiefly among the Britons of the Eastern provinces (the Welsh). Foremost among these was the blessed Dubricius, a doctor of great learning, whom

[1] Apud Usserium, 79, and Stillingfleet, 207.

they consecrated Archbishop, as elected by the king and the whole diocese. When German had conferred this dignity upon him, they appointed him his Episcopal See, with the consent of Mouricus the king, the princes, the clergy and the people, at Landaff, and dedicated the place to St. Peter the Apostle."

From this centre issued many other distinguished Bishops. Daniel was made Bishop of Bangor, and Iltutus Bishop of Llan Iltut. The whole island, in short, was filled with the disciples of German.[1] Besides St. Dubricius, St. Iltutus, we hear of St. Theliaus, St. Sampson, St. Aidanus, St. David, St. Paulinus, St. Cadocus, surnamed Sophus, or the Wise (who went to Rome and became Bishop of Beneventum in Italy, where he was murdered before the altar), St. Briocus, since first Bishop of St. Brieux in Brittany, St. Patrick, St. German (called after St. German of Auxerre), who went to Scotland, and others.[2]

Another tradition informs us that "when almost all the inhabitants of Cambridge (which Usher will not allow to be *the* Cambridge) had been endangered by the adversaries of God (the Pelagians), Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, defended the students with a powerful hand. From their body, it is added, the holy doctors, German and Lupus, selected assistants to help them in expelling the heresy and other errors while they proclaimed the way of God in various parts of the kingdom. By God's aid they came to Caer Leon in Glamorganshire, where they

[1] Collier, tom. i. p. 111. Alford, an. 437.

[2] Bosch. Comm. Præv. vii. Bolland. Usher, 339.

not only taught the Sacred Scriptures, but also instructed the youth in other liberal sciences, wherein reason is the guide and nature the study. And thus some became profound in astronomy and other learning, and were able to observe the course of the stars with success; others foretold prodigies which were to occur about that time among the Britons; while others despising the world and its enjoyments, from love of a heavenly life cleaving to God alone, turned their devout thoughts to the contemplation of Holy Scripture and to Prayer; among whom were Tremerinus, Dubricius, Theonotus, Eldadus, David, Swithunus, Dumianus, who laboured with constancy and proficiency in the exposition of the Scriptures."

Such accounts, while they illustrate the great activity of German and Lupus, are also the foundation somewhat uncertain of the antiquity claimed for the University of Cambridge. There may be some partiality in preferring the claims of Oxford as better supported, but it is rather with a view to show the far-spreading influence of our Saints' fame, that the following interesting circumstances are here produced.

"In 886, A.D., we are told, a fierce contention arose in Oxford between Grymbald with the learned men he brought with him and the old students whom he found in that city. These last refused altogether to admit the laws, forms, and usages, which Grymbald introduced into the Public Lectures. For the three first years the open dissension was but small, and animosity remained concealed. But afterwards it broke out with great fury. To ap-

pease the disturbance Alfred, that invincible king, says the record, having through Grymbald made himself acquainted with the causes, came to Oxford to put an end to the controversy. Here he underwent much labour in hearing and judging the disputes of the parties. The sum of their quarrel was as follows: The old students affirmed that before Grymbald came to Oxford, letters had been in a flourishing condition there; although the numbers of the students had diminished of late from the tyranny of the Pagan conquerors. Moreover, they clearly proved by the authority of the Ancient Annals, that the statutes and regulations had been established by men of great piety and learning, such as St. Gildas, Melkinus, Nennius, Kentigern and others, who all grew old in Oxford in the study of letters, and governed with peace and concord. Furthermore that St. German also had come to Oxford and spent half a year there, at the time when he travelled through Britain to oppose the Pelagians; and he expressed, they affirmed, his admiration distinctly for the statutes of the place. King Alfred having heard both sides (we do not learn what the opposite school urged in their favour), exerted his authority in recommending unanimity. He then departed, charging them to follow each their respective customs with mutual forbearance. But Grymbald, highly displeased at this arbitration, immediately left Oxford for the Monastery of Winchester, which Alfred had recently founded. Afterwards he caused his remains to be buried in the vaults of the Church of St. Peter at Oxford, which Grymbald had erected

from the very foundations with *carefully polished stone.*"

Without pronouncing upon the authenticity of such evidence, which Camden is more disposed to receive than Usher, there is one circumstance relating to the subject-matter which has not often been noticed, and yet is of some importance. In every large town, it has already been remarked, public schools had been established by the Roman government; and, after the pattern of Gaul and other provinces of the empire, Professors of Letters, Science, and Philosophy were maintained at the public expense. If, then, Oxford and Cambridge existed in these early times, as chief towns (and it is probable they did), they would, as a matter of course, have had their schools and literary appointments. The question then is, whether they were destroyed by the Saxon invaders and only restored at a later period, or whether, amid the general havoc occasioned by the invasion, they alone survived, and transmitted their learning and statutes to future generations. Until this matter be settled, it is useless to seek for Universities in Roman times, for all great towns then were privileged with them. The doubt is, whether the connection remained unbroken, for which the above evidence in favour of Oxford seems to be in point. *Sed videbunt alii.*

On the whole, says Carte, there is no room to doubt of the institution of schools of learning by St. German, which are attested by many ancient writers, and universally admitted by the learned critics and antiquarians of later ages.[1]

[1] T. i. p. 182.

But to advert, lastly, to another class of services which German and Lupus are said to have rendered to Britain, a document of the seventh century asserts that they introduced the Gallican Liturgy into the British Church. "The Blessed Cassian," it says, "who lived in the Monastery of Lerins with the blessed Honoratus, and afterwards Honoratus the first Abbot, and St. Cesarius, Bishop of Arles, and St. Porcarius, Abbot also of Lerins, observed this Liturgical Use (the Gallican). And in the same monastery with them were the blessed German and Lupus as monks, and they also followed the same Rule and the same Use in divine service. They, in process of time, obtained the dignity due to their sanctity, and subsequently, in Britain and in the regions of the Scots, came and taught, as we read in the lives of the two Saints."

This statement, of course, is faulty in many respects. We do not hear of Cassian having lived at Lerins. St. Victor, at Marseilles, was his monastery. Though St. Lupus was monk at Lerins, St. German is nowhere else said to have resided there, and the circumstances of his life would not well admit of it. The main information, however, which the author intended to convey, namely, that German and Lupus introduced the Liturgical Use of Gaul into Britain, may nevertheless be authentic. The Public Service of the Church at that time was not so universally settled as to make this introduction an irregularity, even supposing there were no adequate sanction for it. Nor is this the place to draw invidious distinctions between the Roman and the Gallican Liturgy, as Stillingfleet and Collier are

pleased to do ;[1] we must beware of carrying modern prejudices and controversies into the study of the ancients, just as (to borrow an illustration from a recent writer) we may not seek Calvinism in St. Augustine, or Arminianism in St. Chrysostom.

[1] Still. Orig. 221. Collier, i. 112.

CHAPTER XVI

ST. GERMAN'S RETURN TO GAUL

THE two Bishops having accomplished the object of their journey, by suppressing the heresy of the Pelagians and done other great deeds for the Britons, after the lapse of about a year embarked again for Gaul, amid the acclamations of an immense multitude assembled to see them off. They carried with them the sacred dust from St. Alban's tomb, and arrived safe at the opposite coast. They afterwards parted company, and returned to their respective Sees.

St. Lupus, of whom we must now take a final leave, governed the Church of Troyes for many years, during which he saved that city from the fury of Attila, king of the Huns, and distinguished himself by his learning, wisdom, and heroic sanctity. Notwithstanding a life of excessive austerity, he protracted his existence to the great age of ninety-six, and died in 479, in the fifty-second year of his Episcopate, about twenty years after the death of his old companion German. This is one of those instances, among many others, which made Lord Bacon wonder that the ancient Saints, with their rigid asceticism, should have lived so long.

St. German was accompanied on his return by

one of his new disciples, St. Briocus, before mentioned. St. Briocus was a Briton of a noble family. St. German instructed him in the science of holiness, and Briocus greatly profited by his precepts. After he had drunk deep, says history, at the fountains of sound doctrine, he returned from Gaul to his country, and there taught his parents the true faith, and went about preaching everywhere. Being desirous, however, of improving more abundantly the talent of the Lord, he retired to Armorica, or Brittany, in Gaul. Here he effected the conversion of Count Conan, and baptized him. Then collecting some persons anxious to lead a religious life, he erected a Monastery at St. Brieux, so called after himself, on the foundations granted by Conan. He then received the Episcopal consecration from the Metropolitan of Tours, and presided over his diocese with great honour for nearly thirty years. Finally, having gone to Angers on ecclesiastical business, he there breathed his last.[1] St. Briocus may be taken as a specimen of St. German's missionary success.

[1] Usher, 997. Alford, an. 437.

CHAPTER XVII

TWELVE YEARS

A GREAT work accomplished, a great event brought to pass through him or before his eyes, a man's character is at once altered; he is suddenly raised in the scale of being. The change is not merely outward, it is not a mere shifting of position; for though all before was in preparation, and the materials were in readiness, yet the combinating power of one action seems to bring out of them a new nature—a new life. Those elements which were either disjoined or connected without unity, now become one, and assume a shape and permanent consistency. Moreover, as all true knowledge resides in the relation of ideas, and knowledge has a tendency to produce confidence, when circumstances throw a fresh light upon this relation, man seems to acquire a further insight into his own character and condition, and his confidence, whether in himself or in Him whose instrument he is, is proportionably increased. We have but to consider what the feelings are of a warrior who has just gained his first great battle—what he was yesterday, what to-day: or again, the emotions and thoughts of one who has escaped from the grasp of death and been restored to health and powers

of reflection; or the ideas which unexpected preservation from the terrors of the sea excite in the breast of those who are safely landed; and we shall understand something of that mysterious change which one action, one event can effect in man.

St. German's victory over the Pelagians is an instance of such a change. His original biographer is indeed silent on the subject. Near in time to the circumstances of his life, Constantius sees the Saint from beginning to end; and in one sense he may be right. No one is chosen to be general who has not given proof of his skill. St. German was doubtless well suited to the great work he accomplished in Britain. Yet on attentive reflection we cannot help looking upon him as a higher being after than before. His previous austerities, prayers, acts of mercy, deeds of power and energy were exercises and tokens of the same character—but here is the sacrament, here God's seal and justification. This is strengthened by a further consideration.

As great actions are made the occasion of God's approval, so they are a kind of signal to men in general to determine their appreciation of an individual character. Whether it be from some vicious infirmity in the large body of mankind, or from some wise provision of Almighty God, so it is, that the greatest excellencies may fail to attract that notice which they ought, unless some definite and producible object of men's ideas and language be brought out by new circumstances. It is surprising how general opinion changes by a new phasis of the same qualities and powers. What before was

a timid and half-recognised regard becomes at once avowed and ardent admiration.

Something of this kind is perceptible in St. German's life. On the one hand he seems to be really a more exalted being after his mission to Britain; on the other he is the object of an universal enthusiasm out of proportion, as it were, with the nature of the change. It is subsequently to that period that we hear of multitudes thronging from all quarters to obtain a sight of him, to get his blessing, to try his miraculous gifts; and that the welfare of Gaul is supposed to be endangered if he be not enlisted in its service, political as well as ecclesiastical. What death accomplishes for other Saints, stamping their virtues and achievements with a sure seal, this was done for St. German (it may be said without partiality), by his Apostolic ministry in our Island. Contrast with his the lives of other eminent Saints. St. Chrysostom or St. Jerome, for instance, were, if any, illustrious servants of Christ; yet before their death we can hardly say that they obtained that acknowledged and unqualified reverence which partakes of the honour paid to canonised Saints. In the case, however, of the first Apostles we think we discern from the very beginning those tokens of a veneration ever after to belong to them. "The sick were brought forth into the streets and laid on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them."[1] "From the body of Paul were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and

[1] Acts v. 15.

the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them."[1] Let the reader judge by the history of St. German's life subsequent to his return from Britain, whether he did not obtain after the first twelve years of his ministry a considerable portion of that outward honour which the immediate Apostles of Christ owned from the beginning at Pentecost. It is usually said that every one Saint is exalted above all others according as he is made the object of particular attention, or has local and accidental claims upon our regard. But this can never serve as a test. A case given, it cannot antecedently be pronounced of inferior merits on a principle so vague as this. After all, the facts which constitute the case must first be examined, and to these in the present instance the reader is referred.

[1] Acts xix. 12.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TOWNS OF GAUL

THE return of St. German to Auxerre was in the year 430. About a year had elapsed since his departure. His absence had been much felt. For while he on the one hand raised the Church to a condition of great honour in Gaul, on the other he was called upon to act the part of magistrate; and his conduct showed that he knew how to defend the interests of his fellow-citizens.

Auxerre, as we have observed before, though implicated in the general devastations of the Goths, did not till a later period remain long in the possession of any barbarian people. The Burgundians, who occupied a large district of Gaul to the south-east, had stretched their boundaries to the neighbourhood of Auxerre, but the city itself and its dependent territories did not then, or indeed ever, belong to them, as some have supposed.[1] The Franks, who at a subsequent period, about 482, extended their kingdom over this part of Gaul, were, at the time of St. German's return, shut up in a small district to the north of Gaul.[2] And the Goths had passed on to the south-

[1] Vid. D'Anville, Descript. France. Thierry, Lettres. Bouquet, tom. i. 805, ad notas Tillemont, xv. 838.

[2] Gibbon, tom. iv. 277–283.

west, where they had established a large principality, which was every day increasing. But that long strip of land which follows the course of the Saône and then the Rhone down to the sea, still belonged to the Romans, who also were masters of the whole of the northern provinces.

During German's absence an unusual tribute had been laid by these last authorities upon the inhabitants of Auxerre, the burden of which excited the most bitter complaints. This town, however, was but a single example of a general system of oppression which then prevailed, and was one of the prominent characteristics of the age. Among other various reasons for it, the Roman government had daily become more urgent in its demands for supplies; and the provinces of Gaul, as being in the centre of war, were the special victims of all kinds of exaction. Up to this time Aetius, the chief defence of the Empire since the death of Stilicho, had been at the head of the Roman armies in Gaul. He was opposing at once the Burgundians in one quarter, the Franks in another, the Goths in another, and the Insurgents[1] in a fourth. To enable him to maintain sufficient troops the Government drained the land of men and money. In fact, as Salvian says, "the Roman Republic was either entirely extinct in Gaul, or in those parts where it seemed to be still breathing, the heavy fetters of tribute were fast suffocating its dying energies."[2]

What these impositions were may best be conceived from the same author's language of grief.

[1] Bacaudæ. [2] P. 75.

The burden of them fell on the poor and middle classes, while the powerful took occasion of them to augment their own wealth. "The Prefecture, which was the highest civil office of the province, was too often," he says, "but an excuse for plunder; the dignity of the imperial magistrates[1] a mere field for the pillage of towns."[2] The methods resorted to were of the following nature. First there was a general heavy task laid upon every city, "the effects of which, however severe and cruel, would at least have been tolerable if all had shared them equally; but what made them the more invidious, the indigent had to bear all the imposts, the rich were exempt."[3]

Furthermore there were often laid on individual cities, besides the general assessment, extraordinary taxes.[4] "This was the way," he continues; "new messengers arrived, secretaries and bearers of letters sent from the chief officers of the crown. They were introduced to the nobles of the city, and with them decreed the ruin of the people; new taxes were forthwith resolved and published, and the poor had to pay."[5] The nobles, who assisted the extortions of the governors, might pretend to submit to the public tribute, but they always left the discharge of it to the people. And not content with this, they contrived to increase their own private exactions under colour of public demands; the consequences of which seem to have been the most grievous calamity of the time.

To all the severe and even unnecessary measures

[1] Sublimium. [2] P. 72. [3] P. 110.
[4] Adjectiones tributarias. [5] P. 110.

which the administration enforced, the people might cheerfully have acceded, and accepted the emergencies of war as an excuse, though often unjust, if they had met with kindness and equity among their own rich citizens and nobles. Nothing can exceed the picture which has been left of the barbarity of the nobles towards the poor. We might be at a loss among so many proofs to select any in preference, but the following fact, related by the same contemporary author, will serve at least to indicate the spirit of the times. Salvian is intending to illustrate the facility with which men forswore themselves and took Christ's name in vain. "A short time ago," he says, "at the earnest request of a certain poor man, I went to intercede with a powerful nobleman. I entreated him not to rob an indigent and wretched person of his small substance; not to take away the poor pittance which supported his need. The nobleman, who had coveted his little property with a rabid desire, and was already devouring in expectation his spoils, turned his fierce eyes towards me, with frightful expression, as if he thought I wished to take away from him that which he was only desired not to take away himself. 'He could by no means comply with my request,' he answered, and seemed to imply that some sacred order or deed bound him to refuse me. I asked the cause of his denial. 'A most urgent cause,' he replied. 'I have sworn, by the name of Christ, that I will take away this property: and you see,' he continued, 'that I cannot, may not, refrain from what I have thus pledged myself to.' The crime which could claim religion

for its excuse silenced me. What could I do when such a theory of justice and religion was propounded? I therefore departed."[1]

The consequence of these multiplied miseries was a threefold political evil. The poor, and in general those who happened to be inferiors to the nobles, or the provincial senatorial class of men which then occupied an important station, were atlast forced "to deliver themselves up to the more powerful citizens; they became the Dedititii of the rich, that is, neither more nor less than their slaves: their very property and right."[2] The important class of the Curiales, or those Burghers who had enjoyed many privileges and offices within their towns, was now fast disappearing. Everywhere men were selling their patrimony and themselves for a temporary support and defence. "These poor sufferers, who might seem to be gaining a protection, first gave up almost their whole substance to their protectors; whereby the fathers were indeed protected, but the sons lost their inheritance: the price of protection to the one was mendicity to the others."[3] The immense accession of numbers which thus accrued to the afflicted class of the Coloni, or Tenants, and Slaves can hardly be calculated. "When men have lost their houses and are expelled their estates, by unjust appropriation, or by extortion, they then betake themselves to the farms of the powerful; they become, in short, the Coloni, the Tenants of the rich."[4] Many who were thus degraded were persons who had previous

[1] P. 91. [2] P. 113. [3] P. 113. [4] P. 114.

wealth and respectability to boast of. "No longer able to keep the mansion or the dignity of their birthright, they were obliged to submit to the abject yoke of a Tenant."[1]

On the other hand many abandoned their own country, gave up the name and ties of Romans, which formerly were deemed an honour to Gaul, and went over to the barbarians, the Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Franks. It was a sad sight to see "many who were born of respectable families, and had received a liberal education, flee for safety to the enemy, to escape the death of a public persecution at home, and seek among barbarians those humane feelings which were thought to belong only to the Roman world."[2] Here of course they were captives; but it is remarked that such captivity was preferable to liberty at home; those titles of franchise which were so long the glory of the municipal city were now but empty rights. "The Roman name was becoming vile, nay even abhorred."[3]

Lastly, the oppression of the inferior classes in Gaul produced an extensive and alarming rebellion; and a vast confederacy of Insurgents, who went by the name of Bacaudæ, gradually was formed within the Roman dominions. Their chief seat was in those maritime provinces which border the English channel, and went by the generic name of Armorica. Here they seem to have settled into a kind of Republic, which gave constant exercise to the Roman Generals, who endeavoured to suppress it, and bring back the seceding countries to the

[1] P. 115. [2] P. 107. [3] P. 108.

empire. An occasion will present itself hereafter of considering more at length this Armorican confederacy, or Bacaudæ, as they furnished the last field for St. German's untiring exertions. It is sufficient here to mark this fact which by contemporary authors was declared to be the express result of the oppression of the poor in the Roman provinces. "We call them rebels," says Salvian, "and abandoned men; yet we are they who have compelled them to be such. For what is the cause of their becoming Bacaudæ, unless it be our injustices, the iniquities of our magistrates, the proscription and pillage exercised upon them . . . the tributary extortion practised with regard to them?"[1]

To relieve his people at Auxerre, who were now suffering from these evils, was the immediate purpose of German. When extraordinary taxes were laid upon a city too poor to answer the demand, there were such things as *remedies* in use at the time. These remedies,[2] as the expression was, were simply dispensations granted by the Prefect, the first magistrate; and though such dispensations, in many cases, were perverted by the nobles to the grossest excesses of private extortion, yet if German could but provide one for his people, he might in a great measure secure it from abuses elsewhere prevalent. Bishops in the fifth century were the stay of the people—the only one; and Bishops at that time were saints and heroes. Careless, therefore, of fatigue, though he had undergone so much of late, he immediately prepared for another journey.

[1] P. 108. [2] Remedia.

CHAPTER XIX

ST. GERMAN AT ARLES

THE seat of government was then at Arles, as it has been remarked, and there the Prefect of all Gaul resided. It is necessary to be precise in all these particulars, since serious chronological mistakes, for want of distinctness, seem to have here been made by many writers. Auxiliaris was the name of the Prefect, as Constantius plainly says; from which circumstance many have thought the date of this extraordinary taxing which German found on his return, was as late as 444, A.D., if not later, because there is a famous letter of Auxiliaris to St. Hilary[1] of Arles, written in 444, wherein the former endeavours to reconcile Hilary with Pope Leo, and which he wrote, we learn, when he was Prefect; and they have urged this as a reason for postponing German's visit to Britain. But the diligence of the Bollandists has shown that Auxiliaris was no longer Prefect of Gaul when he wrote this, but Prefect of Rome or Italy; which assertion is supported by the learned Bouquet, Pagi, Baluzius, and Quesnel;[2] and moreover, an inscription which

[1] Vid. Laccary, Hist. Gall. sub. Præf. 137.

[2] Historiens de la Gaule, t. i. p. 643. Quesnel, Diss. t. ii. p. 784. Biogr. Univ., Art. Hilaire.

is still to be seen at Narbonne, seems to prove that Marcellus, not Auxiliaris, was Prefect of Gaul between 441 and 445. So far, therefore, from anything in this circumstance invalidating the date we have assigned to German's return from Britain (*i.e.* the year 430), if the fact be true that Auxiliaris had ceased to be Prefect of Gaul in 444, this is in itself a satisfactory reason for placing the mission of St. German to our island in 429.

German set off then to Arles, with a very small company, and with a scanty supply of provisions. Christ, says Constantius, was gold and silver to him. The great Roman road to Arles would pass through Autun, Châlons, Tornus, Mâcon, Belleville, Anse, Lyon, Vienne, St. Rambert, St. Vallier, Thain, Valence, Le Bégude, Ancoune, St. Pol Tricartin, Orange, Avignon, and St. Gabriel,[1] the whole of which was signalised by some token of his Apostolical gifts.

The day was a rainy one when he left Auxerre; towards the evening, as he had passed the boundaries of his diocese, he was overtaken by a traveller who had neither shoes nor coat. Grieved to see his nakedness, German suffered him to lodge under the same roof at night. But while he and his attendants were employed in their devotions, the stranger carried off by stealth the horse on which the Bishop rode. The next morning the theft was discovered. One of the clerical attendants offered his horse to German. They then proceeded on their way, not without the surprise of all in witness-

[1] Itin. Anton. in Descrip. de Gaule, B. 40, Bodl. Libr.

ing the unwonted serenity which appeared in his countenance. One of them asked the reason. "Let us wait a while," he said, "for we shall see that the action of that unfortunate man has been of little benefit to him; he will soon be coming up out of breath." They then halted, and shortly after beheld the thief advancing on foot, and leading after him the horse he had taken. When he arrived, he fell down at German's feet and confessed his crime, adding, that during the whole night he had found himself unable to get away or move one step, until he had resolved to restore the animal. German answered: "If yesterday I had given thee a cloak, there had been no need of stealing. Receive, therefore, this one as a supply for thy wants, and restore that which is my property." The stranger then departed with the garment, in addition to the pardon of his offence.

German wished not to make his journey public, but to reach the object of it with as little display as he could. But his character was now too well known, and his virtues, like a city built on a hill, could not escape the view of men. While on one hand he abstained from all the so-called comforts of life, he avoided on the other the officious attention and concourse of strangers. There was not, however, a village or town in his way, but all the inhabitants came out by multitudes to await his passage and follow his steps. Men with their wives and children came flocking around him, and left him only when a fresh escort arrived to relieve them.

The first district he travelled through was that of

Auxois, where there lived a Presbyter called Senator, conspicuous for his birth as well as his piety. German had been long acquainted with him, as well as his wife Nectariola, who, according to the tolerated custom of the time, continued in the same house in the capacity of sister.[1] He accordingly accepted the hospitality they offered him. There indeed was not much to offer; but one peculiar circumstance occurred. Nectariola, unseen, placed some straw in the bed which was prepared for him, and German unconsciously slept upon it during the intervals which he reserved from his nightly prayers and psalmody.[2] When day returned he departed; Nectariola then took up the straw in which he had lain, and concealed it. Some days after, one Agrestius, a person of considerable birth, who was married and had children, fell a victim to the influence of an Evil Spirit. His relations grieved that German was no longer present to relieve him. As it was, there appeared no remedy, till the wife of Senator, Nectariola, having brought forth the straw she had treasured up, enveloped the afflicted man with it. In this state he remained a whole night, calling the while upon the name of German. The next morning he was delivered of the Evil Spirit and never after visited by it.

In the meantime German was continuing his journey. Arrived at Mâcon, on the banks of the

[1] Conf. L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, tom. i. p. 152, ubi Canons of the Council of Tours, 567, A.D. Ibid. p. 157. Dupin, Eccl. Hist. tom. ii. 3rd Canon of the Council of Nice. Bingham, B. II. ch. xxii. pp. 101 and 155.

[2] Vid. Baillet, Vie des Saints, xxxi. Jul.

Saône, a river noted for its slow course, which gave it the Celtic name of Arar in antiquity,[1] he left the high-road and advanced by the water towards Lyons. Lyons was one of the principal towns of Gaul in the early ages of Christianity. The church established there we are told was of Greek institution, as its origin, rites, and bishops indicated. Nearly two centuries before this time it had been the scene of one of the most dreadful persecutions and illustrious both for the glory of its martyrs and the holiness of its bishops, among whom was St. Irenæus.[2] It is situated at the conflux of the Rhone and the Saône. Some have thought that St. Eucher was at this time Bishop of Lyons; but evidence seems to be against the supposition. Constantius, who was a priest in that church, would scarcely have omitted this occasion of introducing him to the reader.[3] Senator, his predecessor, apparently governed the Church when German arrived there. The traveller was received by a large concourse of people of all rank and age. Every one endeavoured to come near to him. Some demanded his blessing; others were content with touching him; and others again rejoiced if they could but get a sight of him. Here he performed many miraculous cures upon sick persons; and preached to the multitude who thronged to hear him. Not being able, however, to stay as long as they wished, he

[1] Sidon. Apoll. not. ad Lib. ii. p. 237, Recens. Edit. D'Anville says it was called the Sacconna from the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, yet after him Constantius calls it Arar, and so Sidon. Apoll.

[2] Vid. Eusebius.

[3] See Tillemont, tom. xv. Vie de St. Eucher.

hastened to proceed to Arles. But his sojourn at Lyons, short as it was, left a deep and lasting impression upon the minds of the inhabitants, and was the original occasion of the biography of St. German, which Constantius the Presbyter of Lyons wrote at the request of his Bishop, St. Patiens. The letter in which he expressed his compliance with the desire of St. Patiens is still in existence.

"Constantius the sinner sendeth greeting to his blessed and Apostolical Lord and ever revered Patron, Patiens. It is with reason that among the virtues obedience claims the highest rank. By it many attempt at least what they feel unequal to. And therefore they must be considered worthy of the praise due to devotedness who, regardless of their own inability, submit to those that order. This being the case, since you desire, most revered Pontiff,[1] to have the wondrous gifts of a holy man set forth conspicuously, and to propose the example of his miracles as an instructive lesson to all; and have frequently enjoined me to transmit, as well as I could, to the present and future generations, the Life of that great Saint, German the Bishop, too much obscured by silence; I therefore accede to the work with boldness, though, at the same time, I feel conscious of presumption. Do you grant the pardon; for I might perhaps allege that some guilt attaches to your own judgment; you ought to have chosen a better workman for such high materials. However, we are both acting up to the principle of Love; you think me capable when I am not, I obey

[1] Papa venerabilis.

readily your authoritative injunction. Pray, therefore, for me, that my labour may, through your intercession, obtain that favour which it lays no claim to on the score of desert. Farewell! long days in Christ to thee, blessed prelate. Ever remember me." Thus early were Saints' Lives composed for the edification of the Christian people.

There were two ways from Lyons to Arles, either by water down the Rhone, as the custom till very late has continued,[1] or by the great Roman road which had been constructed as far as Narbonne, and which was one of the four Viæ Agrippinæ; and perhaps to this twofold way of travelling an allusion is made by Sidonius Apollinaris in the following verses—

> "Hinc agger sonat, hinc Arar resultat,
> Hinc sese pedes atque eques reflectit
> Stridentum et moderator essedorum,
> Curvorum hinc chorus helciariorum
> Responsantibus alleluia ripis
> Ad Christum levat amnicum celeusma.
> Sic, sic psallite, nauta vel viator;
> Namque iste est locus omnibus petendus,
> Omnes quo via ducit ad salutem."[2]

It is conjectured by those that live on the spot, that the former way would most naturally be taken by the traveller. German, however, soon reached the term of his journey. As in other places, he was received at Arles amid the congratulations of the whole city. St. Hilary had lately succeeded to St. Honoratus in the Bishopric, or rather Archbishopric,

[1] Lettres de Madame de Sévigné.
[2] Vid. Epis. x. Lib. ii. et Notes, Ed. 1836.

of Arles. This town was then the first in Gaul. "It is an acknowledged fact, said the Bishops of the province in a letter to St. Leo, among all the people of Gaul and also in the holy church of Rome, that the city of Arles was the first which received St. Trophimus, sent by the blessed Apostle Peter (that is, apparently one of his successors), and that the gift of the Faith was conveyed to the rest of Gaul through this channel . . . therefore it is by right and justice that Arles has always had the chief rank in this church."[1] It was not till some time after the period under consideration that the church of Vienne claimed the precedency, owing to the dispute of St. Leo and St. Hilary.[2] At Arles, moreover, was fixed the residence of the Prefect of Gaul; it had succeeded to Treves in political importance, and had been particularly favoured by Constantine the Great, who had given it the name of Constantia. Here also tyrants had fixed their abode and dealt out the honours of the Empire. The advantages of its situation are thus described in an imperial rescript[3]:—

"The city of Arles is so conveniently situated, strangers resort to it in such great numbers, its commerce is so extensive, that whatever is of foreign growth or manufacture is to be found there. The wealth of the opulent East, of perfumed Arabia, luxurious Syria, fertile Africa, beautiful Spain and hardy Gaul, abounds in this place to such a degree, that everything magnificent to be seen in other parts

[1] Epist. Leon. Ed. Quesnel, p. 539, vol. i.
[2] Alford ad an. 440.
[3] See Bouquet, tom. i. 766, and notes. Guizot, Europe.

of the world seems here to be the very produce of the soil. The union of the Rhine and the Mediterranean brings together the territories which they respectively water; and the whole earth seems to contribute its stores to the advantage of the town: by land and by sea and by river, carts, ships, barges are continually carrying into its bosom the riches they have amassed."

But the chief pride of this second Tyre was its great Bishops. Holiness seemed to be the heritage of that church. St. Hilary, who was then presiding over it, was, says Constantius, a man endowed with every virtue, a burning torrent of divine eloquence, an indefatigable labourer in the duties of his office, who alone spread a lustre over the diocese he governed. The reception he gave to German corresponded with the character he held. Though a metropolitan Bishop, he was much the younger of the two, having lately left the monastery of Lerins at the age of twenty-nine.[1] On the present occasion, we are told, his demeanour towards the more aged prelate who came to visit him was that of a son to his father, and his respect like that due to an Apostle. From this time perhaps may be dated the intimacy which arose between these two eminent Saints, although there is nothing to prevent it having had an earlier origin.[2]

However, Auxiliaris the Prefect did not allow his friend Hilary to outstrip him in attentions to their distinguished guest. Unlike many who had filled the same high office, Auxiliaris was a faithful servant

[1] Biog. Uni. ad vocem Hil.
[2] Vid. Tillem. xv. 64.

of the Church and its ministers, as he well proved afterwards in his endeavours to reconcile St. Leo with St. Hilary. He had long been desirous to know German, of whom he had heard much; and the tidings of his arrival were highly acceptable to him. Another cause contributed to this satisfaction; his wife had been for some time afflicted with a severe ague, and he expected German could afford relief. Before, therefore, he had entered the city, he went out to meet him. His surprise was not small to find German superior to the fame he had acquired: the dignity of his countenance, his learning, his authoritative manner of speaking, filled the Prefect with admiration. He offered presents, and pressed the acceptance of them. Then he acquainted him with the sickness of his wife, upon which German, without delay, accompanied him to his residence. Here he found the sufferer and immediately healed her. The relater of this miracle is careful to attribute the departure of her fever and shiverings to the joint power of German and the faith of the lady.

Having explained the object of his journey, he easily obtained the desired *remedium*, or exemption from tribute for the people of Auxerre. He then hastened to carry back the joyful intelligence. His presence, however, was best able to infuse true pleasure into their hearts: when he was with them they could be content under all circumstances.

German seems occasionally to have taken long journeys through different parts of Gaul for the purpose of reviving the religious spirit of his countrymen. At this time the interference of one Bishop with another in the administration of their dioceses

might not, under some circumstances, be deemed obtrusive. The invasion of the barbarians had spread so great an appearance of anarchy over the country, that the Bishops might in some sense consider themselves appointed collectively over the whole country, as one diocese, to restore discipline and kindle religion wherever they could. The zeal and holiness which distinguished the Bishops of the time would also naturally encourage this understanding between them, and supersede any regular dispensation. It is perhaps on this principle that we find German, on one occasion, preaching within the diocese of Auvergne, which had Bishops of its own, one of whom, several years after, was the illustrious Sidonius Apollinaris. Some have thought German came to Brioude, in Auvergne, on his way back from Arles to Auxerre, just after his interview with Auxiliaris;[1] but though it would not have taken him much out of his way to pass by Auvergne, yet his anxiety to reach his native country would scarcely have allowed him to take a circuitous course, especially over a hilly country; and Constantius seems to mark distinctly his return to Auxerre before his expedition to Auvergne, which he does not assign to any particular time.[2] When he came to Brioude, he found the inhabitants perplexed to know on what day they ought to celebrate the martyrdom of St. Julian. St. Julian is one of the most famous martyrs of the French Church. He was a native of Vienne, and of noble birth, who suffered in the Diocletian persecution while Maxi-

[1] Baillet, Vie des Saints, xxviii. August.

[2] Sidon. Apoll. Lib. II. Lett. ix. p. 168, and not. p. 221.

mian governed the Western Empire.[1] At the advice of his friend Ferreolus the Tribune, he had retired to Brioude, in Auvergne, where the messengers of Crispinus the governor found him and beheaded him. His body was interred at Brioude, and his head carried to Vienne. Gregory of Tours, who has written a special book about this martyr, tells us that many miracles were performed at his tomb; and the same Gregory considered himself under the immediate protection of St. Julian.[2] Sidonius Apollinaris also before him, remarks, in a letter to Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne (an eminent Saint of the fifth century,[3] who instituted the Days of Rogation), the great honour in which St. Julian's remains were held; and it was, in all probability, to the tomb of St. Julian that a pilgrimage was prepared by the relations of Sidonius. He describes it as full of danger, on account of the distressed state of the country from the outrages of the barbarians,[4] and at the same time commends their piety for the design they had conceived.

When German perceived the cause of the people's grief, he said to them, "Let us pray to God. Perhaps He will reveal to us the day." When evening came, and all had retired, German, according to his custom, passed the whole night in prayer. On the following morning he called together the chief persons of the town, and inquired whether they had had any revelation. When they answered in the negative, "Well then," said he, "know that the 28th

[1] Baillet, xxviii. August.
[2] De Gloria Martyr. [3] Epist. i. lib. vi. p. 158.
[4] Epist. vi. lib. iv. p. 337.

of August is to be celebrated as St. Julian's Festival; for I have learnt, by divine intimation, that on that day the blessed Martyr was murdered by the Pagans." When he had said this the people present were filled with joy, and returned thanks to the Bishop for his services. It will be seen from this instance how early importance was attached to the particular day of a Saint's death, in order to determine the Festival in his honour. No ordinary day would satisfy the people of Auvergne, and a general gloom had spread over them.

Few of the events of German's life, between his return from Britain to his second journey thither, which occupied a period of above sixteen years, have been transmitted to us by Constantius, and we have no means of supplying the deficiency from other sources, with the exception of one or two circumstances. St. Hilary, we have seen, had contracted a great friendship with German,[1] which some carry up to an earlier period than the visit to Arles just related. It has been thought that Hilary was present at the Council which chose German and Lupus to go over to Britain, which is described as having been a very numerous one; and certain it is, that could it be proved that it was held at Arles, according to Garnier's conjecture, Hilary must have been present. But without hazarding guesses, it appears that Hilary went often to see German at Auxerre, although this town was out of his diocese, and the Bishop of Sens was German's metropolitan; and he consulted him, we learn, upon all the ques-

[1] Tillemont, t. xv. p. 64.

tions relating to Church matters, that is, according to Honoratus of Marseilles, in his life of Hilary, "concerning the mode of government and conduct of the different Bishops, whether their virtues or their faults."[1] It was this very vigilance which occasioned him trouble. The Archbishop of Arles assumed the superintendence of all the Churches of Gaul, which did not a little displease the See of Rome. About the year 444, Hilary paid a visit to German. As soon as his arrival was made known, divers persons of importance and many others came to the two Bishops, and brought complaints of Chelidonius, Bishop of Besançon, saying that he had in former times married a widow, and when entrusted with an office in the civil government, had condemned some persons to death;[2] both which things were accounted an obstacle to the elevation of any one to a Bishopric. Hilary and German then ordered the proofs to be produced. Many great Bishops assembled to be present at the discussion, among whom was St. Eucher of Lyons. It is believed that this Council was held at Besançon, at which also Hilary presided, not Eucher of Lyons, as being a junior Bishop. There the question was maturely weighed, and it was proved that Chelidonius had in fact married a widow; consequently he was called on to resign his episcopal office, and another was elected in his place. The decree of the Council was supported by the Patrician Aetius and the Prefect Marcellus. This sentence led to serious results. Chelidonius went to Rome

[1] P. 743, t. i. Quesnel, and Bolland. ad v. Maii.
[2] Tillemont, xv. 71.

and laid his cause at the feet of St. Leo the Pope, who, notwithstanding Hilary's explanations, espoused the cause of the former, and re-established him in his See. Hilary, who had also gone to Rome, became the object of Leo's resentment, which, to all appearances, was anything but just, and did not even end with the death of the holy Bishop of Arles. It is supposed by Stillingfleet that German also was involved in the disgrace which Hilary then suffered with respect to the See of Rome. This, indeed, may be partly granted; yet there is no reason to suppose him to have forfeited the estimation of Pope Leo in 444, except so far as related to this deposition of Chelidonius. But it would be absurd to infer with him that this circumstance, which occurred in 444, must have made German obnoxious to Pope Celestine fifteen years before. At *that* time Hilary was quite a young man, and just elected to Arles, and an intimacy with him was not in such abhorrence at Rome as to injure German's character. On the other hand, there is no sufficient reason to suppose German, in his second voyage to Britain, which took place in 446, to have acted against Leo's wishes; it would be lending unjust motives to one who had the virtues of a Saint, and who must have been acquainted with the services which German had rendered to the Britons, services which few, perhaps none other, could confer.

The other circumstance not mentioned by Constantius, but by Hericus, the monk of Auxerre (who, though a writer of the ninth century, may, as far as the general fact is concerned, be considered a suffi-

cient authority), relates to the meeting of German and St. Anian, the famous Bishop of Orleans. This was the St. Anian who not long after, by his prayers, saved the town of Orleans from the fury of Attila, who was besieging it, and to whom the sceptic Gibbon has not disdained to pay the tribute of admiration. Had Hericus not mentioned his interview with St. German, we might infer it from the mere probabilities. Their Sees were near, they were within the same civil jurisdiction, they were contemporaries, they were the same in life, doctrine, holiness. The traditions which record it are such as the following. There was a Church dedicated to St. German, in the time of Hericus, in one of the suburbs of Orleans. Here it was said St. Anian had met St. German. A peal of bells, which had suddenly been rung without any human assistance, had announced to him the arrival of his brother of Auxerre. He had collected a great number of his clergy, and coming out to receive him, had advanced to this spot. When the time came for German to return, St. Anian accompanied him out of Orleans. They were met by a bier, on which was laid the corpse of an only son ; the mother was walking beside it. The two Saints demurred for a short time which should have the honour of restoring the child of this second widow of Nain. St. German consented at last ; and brought again the dead son to life. The subject of this great miracle lived to an old age, says the repeater of the tradition ; and there is no doubt that a Church was dedicated to St. German at the place where it occurred.

CHAPTER XX

HIS SECOND VISIT TO BRITAIN

GERMAN was now advanced in age; he had governed the diocese of Auxerre for twenty-nine years, and had obtained the highest reputation over all Gaul for his miracles, holiness, and learning. His advice was sought by the whole Church on important matters, and distinguished men came to hear him discourse and profit by his instructions. In the year 447, the intelligence was again brought to Gaul from Britain of a revival of the Pelagian heresy in the latter country. There were few, it was said, who disturbed the peace of the nation, but the danger was every day increasing. German was again called to restore the doctrine which he before so signally had defended. As on the occasion of his previous mission he was requested by all to undertake the office of Apostle, so he was on this; yet we are not able to determine whether any Council was assembled, or any peculiar authority, over and above the original commission which he had received, was required.[1] There is reason, however, to conjecture that a Synod was

[1] Const. had said, "Preces *omnium* ad virum beatissimum deferuntur." Bede adds to omnium the word *sacerdotum*.

held at Trèves,[1] and that in consequence Severus, the Bishop of that town, whose exertions in the north of Gaul for the promotion of religion had made him renowned, was elected to accompany German on his second voyage. Severus was the disciple, says Bede, of St. Lupus.[2]

During the interval which had elapsed from German's first journey to Britain to his second, the condition of this island had been anything but peaceful. Vortigern, to whom the reader has already been introduced, had by this time been elected king of the Britons. This event some assign to the year 438; but very little chronological certainty can here be expected. The character of Vortigern has come down to posterity with all the colours applied to unpopular tyrants. That his reign was compassed with more than ordinary difficulties cannot be denied. "When he was king," says Nennius,[3] "he was kept in suspense by continual apprehensions of danger from the Picts and Scots, from the remnant of the Romans ready to attack, and the exploits of Ambrosius;" while the Saxons who surrounded the country with their piratical skiffs were ever waiting to profit by his vacillations and imprudences. Still the most charitable interpretation cannot rescue him from very serious charges, namely, of gross immorality and irreligion. It is probably to this time that the pathetic declamations of the historian Gildas about the sins of the nation are to be ascribed.[4]

[1] Not in 449, according to Mansi Concilia, for German was then dead, and the Saxons had invaded Britain.

[2] Bed. lib. i. ch. 21. [3] P. 24. [4] Collier, p. 108.

The temporary return to religion and good manners occasioned by the distress which the invaders had produced, and by the visit of German and Lupus, had been followed by a different course of life so soon as the barbarians were defeated.[1] The orthodoxy of the nation indeed remained comparatively pure, but peace brought plenty, and plenty produced luxury and libertinism.[2] The principles of the people degenerated daily, and defied the coercion of all ecclesiastical discipline. "When the aggressions of the enemy had ceased," says Bede after Gildas, "there was an abundance of provisions in the island such as had never been known; but with them flowed in scandalous luxury; and every vice soon followed in the train, especially cruelty and hatred of truth with love of falsehood; insomuch that if any one appeared somewhat more humane or sincere than the rest, the odium and sarcasms of all were directed against him, as if he were the subverter of Britain. And this was the condition not of the laity alone, but even of the flock of the Lord and of His pastors. They cast away the light yoke of the Lord and gave themselves up to drunkenness, animosities, litigiousness, contention, envy, and the like. However, while they were in this state a pestilence broke out, which carried off such numbers that the living were not able to bury their dead. Still,

[1] Bede, ch. xiv. He does not connect the cessation of hostilities with the coming of German, but dates seem to imply as much, and it is hard to conceive the invaders settling down except after defeat. Compare also the extract from Giraldus Cambrensis below.

[2] Alford.

neither the death of their kinsmen nor the fear of their own could recall those who survived from the death of sin. Therefore soon after a more severe punishment fell upon the wretched nation. To repel and keep off the continued irruption of the northern nations, a public council was held, and it was debated where assistance should be sought. All decreed, together with their king Vortigern, that the Saxons should be called over from the opposite shores to assist them—a measure which the Lord undoubtedly brought about to punish the sins of the Britons, as the event showed."

This invitation addressed to the Saxons is assigned to the year 449 by Bede. Not long before, in 447, while the nation was in the state just described, German came over with Severus of Treves. He had lost no time in setting off from Auxerre. His way again lay in the direction of Nanterre and Paris, as on his first journey. Here he was received by the congratulations of all. His blessing was demanded on every side. And while he was complying with the wishes of the inhabitants, he inquired earnestly after the virgin Genevieve. Genevieve was by this time grown up, for eighteen years had elapsed since German had passed through before. He was not altogether ignorant of what she had undergone since his departure.[1] The fact was that she had from the first led a life of exemplary holiness and mortification. At the age of fifteen, when confirmed in her vocation, she received the virgin's veil from the hands of Velicus,

[1] Biogr. Un.

Bishop of Chartres.[1] At the death of her parents she removed from Nanterre to Paris, where she lived with her godmother. Notwithstanding the sanctity of her life, she could not escape calumny and persecution; and her pious practices were looked upon as hypocritical arts. However, German, regardless of the imputations which were cast upon her by her enemies, betook himself to the abode of the virgin Genevieve, and to the great surprise of all saluted her on entering in the most respectful manner, "as if he looked upon her as the temple in which the Divine presence was manifested."[2] The visit of so great a personage as German was alone a high commendation of her character; but not content with this, he addressed a discourse to the assembled multitude, in which he declared the early events of her religious life,[3] and her high price in the sight of God; and as a proof of her sincerity, showed to the people the ground on which she used to lie, moistened by her continual tears. For the present the outcries of her enemies were totally suppressed; and German was able to proceed on his road. As it is not to the purpose of this narrative to describe the whole history of this great Saint, the reader is referred to those who have collected what is known of her.[4]

[1] It is evident from this incidental passage that some time had elapsed between German's two voyages, contrary to the anachronism of some who assign them to years near each other.

[2] Constantius.

[3] This also shows that time sufficient had elapsed for his first journey to have been forgotten in its details.

[4] Vid. Boll. ad iii. Jan. Vita cum commentariis, p. 137. In modern languages, see her Life in Butler and Baillet, Vie des Saints, and Biogr. Uni.

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It is sufficient here to say that her deeds were committed to writing eighteen years after her death, in 530. Her feast is on the 3rd of January.

German and Severus met with no obstacle this time in their passage across the channel. Swift as their progress was, yet the evil spirits managed to spread the fame of their arrival throughout the island before, says Constantius, they were in sight. Among the first who came to meet German was Elaphius, one of the chief men of the country. He brought with him his son, who from childhood had been a cripple. The whole province, of which he apparently was sovereign, followed Elaphius. When the two Bishops had landed, the multitude thronged to get their blessing. German then learnt that the people had not yet departed from the faith in which he had previously established them; and that the Pelagian leaven had affected a few only.

In the meantime Elaphius threw himself down before German and Severus, and entreated them to have compassion upon his afflicted son. All united in expressing their commiseration for him. Then German having desired the young man to sit down, laid hold of his crooked legs, and passed his hand gently over the distorted parts. His touch produced an instantaneous cure; the circulation returned to the withered joints, and the nerves resumed their strength. In the presence of all, the young man was restored to his father in perfect soundness. The people, filled with amazement at the miracle, were confirmed in the faith by which so great a deed had been performed. In some sense

they resembled the Samaritans, who said unto the woman that conversed with our Lord at Jacob's well, "Now do we believe, not because of thy saying, for we have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ the Saviour of the world."[1]

The two Bishops then proceeded to take measures for the total extirpation of the Pelagian heresy. They preached everywhere with such efficacy, that the nation unanimously agreed to have the propagators of the error arrested and brought to the Bishops, to be carried away from the island into foreign parts. Some have thought they were sent to Rome, others that they were taken only to Gaul.[2] Constantius seems to affirm, that while care was taken to deliver Britain from their presence, hopes were entertained that they might elsewhere be brought round to orthodoxy.[3] The event fully showed the expediency of a measure which might be looked upon as an act of persecution; for henceforth the Catholic faith remained entire in Britain up to the time when Constantius wrote, that is, about forty years after the journey of German.

With this last assertion Constantius concludes his narrative of German's second visit to Britain; and as it is an important one, before the accounts of other authors are produced it may be as well to notice some few observations to which it leads.

[1] St. John iv. 42.

[2] Hist. Ep. Antiss. c. vii. apud Boll. Tillemont, tom. xv. p. 19.

[3] "Ut regio absolutione et *illi* emendatione fruerentur." Perhaps, however, the illi refers to the natives, as Constantius is not afraid of tautology.

A decided proof seems here to be given that the invasion of the Saxons and Angles did not extinguish the Christian religion in Britain to the degree which is generally supposed, and has been maintained by some writers. Constantius speaks of what existed in his own time, after the Saxons had been for nearly forty years settled in Britain. It would appear then, that whatever error there may be in that theory which rests the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England upon its original state under the Britons, in contradistinction to the arrangements introduced by St. Austin, yet there is a great appearance of truth in the reason which is adduced to support it, namely, that the Christian religion was not utterly destroyed in Britain by the arrival of the Saxons. The analogy of other countries alone would lead to the belief that the Saxons, like other barbarians, would rather adopt the faith of the vanquished than impose their own; and the language of Constantius is too strong to suppose the faith shut up in one corner of the island, Wales, according to the common notion. He says expressly, "*that in those parts* (from which the country where German landed could hardly be excluded, namely, the shores of Kent) *the Faith continues untainted* (which could not be the case if a Pagan religion was there substituted for the Christian) *up to our times.*[1] Now if we consider that St. Austin came into England, according to Bede, in 596, and that Constantius wrote his life of St. German about 483, it seems

[1] Quod in tantum salubriter factum est, ut in illis locis etiam nunc fides intemerata perduret.

hardly possible that the Faith which remained entire in 483 should have been totally extinguished in 596, *i.e.* 113 years after; especially as the violence of the Saxons is represented to have been displayed chiefly towards the beginning of their invasion, at least thirty years before Constantius wrote.[1] And this view is supported by the learned Whitaker. "The native roughness of their manners," he says on the subject of the Saxons, "would insensibly be smoothed, and the natural attachment of their minds to idolatry imperceptibly softened, by their perpetual intercourse with the Britons, to whom they allowed the free exercise of their religion. And the British Churches in general appear to have remained undestroyed by the Saxons, and some of them even applied to their original uses. In the stipendiary town of Canterbury, no less than two continued to the Saxon conversion, and one of these seems to have been regularly used through all the period of idolatry as the temple of the provincials at Canterbury, &c. Indulged with this reasonable liberty, and opposed by no passionate prejudice, the Britons would successfully propagate the doctrines of Christianity, &c. A deep impression would silently have been made on the Saxons, gradually detach them from their idolatry, and greatly prepare them for Christianity. And we find them accordingly, some time

[1] It is hoped that no difference of opinion to that expressed in St. Augustine's Life is here put forth. In fact the materials of this work were prepared long before that Life came out, and hitherto nothing more than the headings of the chapters and an occasional paragraph have been seen by the writer of St. German's Life. Collier, p. 124, tom. i. ed. 8vo.

before the arrival of Augustine, *and when no attempts had been made to convert them by the Britons of Wales*, actually prepared for conversion, and very desirous of the Gospel," &c.[1]

This subject, which more properly belongs to the life of St. Augustine, it seemed necessary cursorily here to introduce, in order to estimate properly the advantages which St. German procured to our Church, and which in all probability were not destroyed when St. Austin came to revive religion in England.[2]

A general idea of the customs and teaching of German and his companions is supposed by our own Selden to be shown in the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis,[3] who lived in the twelfth century, and whose words are as follows:[4] "Formerly and long before the ruin of Britain, during nearly two hundred years, the natives had been established and confirmed in the faith through the instrumentality of Faganus and Damianus, who were sent into the

[1] Hist. Manch. pp. 360, 361, 362. He refers to Greg. Ep. 58, in Bede 678, "Desideranter velle converti," and Lib. i. c. 22. See also Ep. 59.

[2] The same view is substantially taken by Alford, ad an. 440, who observes that St. Austin was sent as the converter of the Saxons and Angles only, and not in anywise to the Britons. St. German was the Apostle of the Britons, St. Austin of the Saxons, but neither were the original founders of Christianity in this island. Of course Cressy follows Alford.

[3] Vid. p. 59. Analecton Anglo-Britanicon Joan. Selden, Frankfort, 1615. Giraldus Cambrensis, apud Camden. Anglo. Scripta. p. 891, ed. 1603. Frankfort. Alford ad an. 440.

[4] Vid. Biog. Uni. His original name was Barry, and his surname shows he was Welsh. He was of high birth, and travelled a great deal. But his works are spoilt, it is said, by great vanity and affectation, and not always to be depended upon.

island by Pope Eleutherius, at the request of King Lucius. From which time, including that when German of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes (on account of the corruptions which had crept in from the invasions of the Pagans and Saxons, and especially in order to expel the Pelagian heresy), were sent into the island, the natives had nothing heretical, nothing contrary to sound doctrine, in their belief. From these same Saints and Bishops they also received and kept up to our time the following practices, as we are told.[1] Whenever any bread is served up, they (that is, the Welsh) first give a corner of it to the poor. They sit in companies of three at dinner in honour of the Trinity. Whenever a monk or a priest, or any one bearing a religious habit appears, they cast down their arms, bend their head, and demand a blessing. No other nation seeks so earnestly for Episcopal confirmation and the unction of the Chrism, both which impart the Grace of the Spirit. They give tithes of all their possessions, cattle and sheep, when they marry, when they undertake a journey, or submit to the discipline of the Church in the reformation of their lives. This partition of their property they call the Great Tithes. Two parts they give to the Church where they are baptized, the third to the Bishop of their diocese. In preference to all other journeys, they undertake that to Rome, with pious minds and reverence for the threshold of the Apostles. They show due veneration for Churches and ecclesiastical persons, and the relics of Saints, and portable

[1] Ut fertur.

bells,[1] the ornamented Volume of the Gospels,[2] and the Cross; in this indeed they surpass all other nations. Hence their Church enjoys more secure peace than any other. For not only in cemeteries, but even elsewhere by means of landmarks and ditches, placed by the Bishops to preserve order, their cattle are able to feed without disturbance. In the most ancient and venerable Churches, when the cattle go out in the morning, and when they return at evening, the Clergy give them their benediction. If any one has incurred the deadly enmity of his sovereign, and seeks for refuge in the Church, he will there find peace for himself and his kinsfolk. In this privilege indeed, which far exceeds the indulgence of the canons, which only offer safety to the body and members, many go great lengths and make their refuge the occasion of plunder. Nowhere else you will see Hermits and Anchorites more ascetic, more spiritual. Though all the people (the Welsh) have a natural vehemence of disposition, and you will find none worse than bad men among them, yet you will not find better men than their good men."

[1] Campanis Bajulis. "Campanæ Bajulæ quæ præ manibus haberi et deferri possunt." Silvester Giraldus in Topogr. Hibern. c. 33. "Hoc etiam non prætereundum puto, quod Campanas bajulas, baculosque Sanctorum in superiore parte recurvos, auro et argento vel ære contextos, in magna reverentia tam Hiberniæ et Scotiæ quàm Gwalliæ populus et Clerus habere solent: ita ut sacramenta super hæc longe magis quam super Evangelia et præstare vereantur et pejerare."—Apud Ducange. Campana.

[2] Libris textis. "Textus; Liber seu Codex Evangeliorum, qui inter cimelia Ecclesiastica reponi solet, auro gemmisque ut plurimum exornatus, aureis etiam interdum characteribus exaratus."—Ducange.

CHAPTER XXI

MORE ENGLISH TRADITIONS

THUS much can be depended upon, with regard to this second visit of German to Britain, as coming from the authority of Constantius, who has all along been taken as a sure witness. But it has been hinted already that our Saint's renown in England by no means depends upon the narrative of this writer alone (one might almost say, *at all*). Nothing was more popular among our ancient countrymen than the Legends of St. German. Did an Englishman in the ninth century go abroad, he was sure to be questioned about St. German, and he had many things to relate which Constantius had passed over, but which were in the mouth of everybody in England. "This country," says Hericus of Auxerre, "which is the first among islands, has a peculiar devotion towards the blessed German, and its inhabitants acknowledge themselves to own many great blessings to him: they were enlightened, say they, by his teaching, they were purified from heresy twice by him, they were honoured by many miracles which he performed among them." Accordingly, when a pious monk of the name of Mark came over from England, and took up his abode in the monastery of St. Medard and St. Sebastian, at Soissons, in

France, he had many things to tell the foreign inquirer which were not generally known abroad. And these, he asserted positively, were contained in the Catholic Histories of Britain, and might be read by any one therein." [1]

About the very time when St. Mark (for he was a Saint) was instructing Hericus, Nennius was writing his history of Britain in England, that is, in 858, according to the Prologue. Nennius then is, after Bede, the earliest English testimony which we possess concerning St. German. But as critics are, with reason, afraid of admitting the facts he relates without great caution, the reader will be pleased to consider this chapter as the continuation of a former one, entitled English Traditions.

It appears that the arrival of the Saxons, Vortigern's crimes and misfortunes, St. German's presence, and Merlin's prophecies, are facts all brought together by this author. Among the earlier events of Vortigern's reign occurred, he says, the arrival of Horsa and Hengist; the account reads like romance. "In the meantime three skiffs,[2] banished from Germany, touched the land. In these were Horsa and Hengist, who were brothers, the sons of Guictgils, the son of Guitta, the son of Guectha—Vuoden—Frealaf — Fredulf — Finn — Folcwald — Geta, who was, as they say, the son of God. This is not the God of gods, Amen, the God of Hosts, but one of their idols whom they worshipped. . . . Vortigern received them kindly, and gave them the island which in the Saxon language is called Thanet, but in the British tongue Ruohim."

[1] Heric. de Mirac. 80. [2] Ciulæ.

Then came St. German to Britain, where he preached, and performed many miracles, among which Nennius selects the following legend, the character of which must stand by its own merits, and not be supposed to affect in any way the more genuine miracles of German before related. "There was a certain wicked king, a perfect tyrant, of the name of Benli. Him the Saint proposed to visit, and therefore hastened to go and preach to him. When the man of God had come to the gate of the town with his companions, the guard approached and saluted them, whereupon they sent him to the king. The king returned a harsh answer, saying, with an oath, 'Should they remain there till the end of the year, they never shall enter my town.' While they were waiting for the guard to bring back the answer of the king, evening came on and night advanced, and they knew not where they should go, when one of the king's servants arrived, and having bowed himself before the man of God, related to him the words of the king. He then invited them to his cottage (which probably was out of the town); they went with him, and he entertained them kindly. Their host had only one cow, with her calf. This latter he killed, and having roasted it, placed it before them. Then St. German enjoined them not to break any of the bones, and the next day the calf was found with its mother, whole and alive. When German had risen in the morning he asked for an interview with the king. While he was waiting at the gate, a man came running up to him with the sweat running down from his face. He bowed himself. St. German said to him, 'Dost

thou believe in the Holy Trinity?' He answered, 'I believe,' and was baptized; and German kissed him, and said to him, 'Go in peace, in this same hour thou shalt die; the angels of God await thee in the air, that thou mayest go with them to the Lord, in whom thou hast believed.' Then the man returned with joy to the citadel, where the Prefect arrested him and bound him; after which he was led before the tyrant and put to death; for it was a custom with the cruel tyrant to have every one killed who, before sunrise, did not return to his service in the citadel. In the meantime German and his companions remained the whole day before the gate of the city, without obtaining leave to see the king. The servant who before had entertained them did not neglect them. St. German said to him, 'Take care that none of your friends remain in the citadel this night.' The servant then returned to the citadel, and brought away his children to the number of nine, and his guests followed him to the same abode as before. St. German bid them remain fasting, and having shut the doors, said, 'Watch, and if anything should occur, be careful not to look to the citadel, but pray unceasingly, and cry to the Lord.' After a short interval, in the night, fire fell from heaven and consumed the citadel, with all that were with the tyrant; and they have never been found, continues Nennius, to this time, nor has the fort ever been rebuilt. The day after the man who had so hospitably received them believed and was baptized, with all his children; and the whole country followed his example. His name was Catel. And German blessed him, and

said, 'There shall not be wanting a king of thy seed; and thou thyself from this day shalt be sole king.' The saying proved true. The servant was made the king, and all his children became kings, and by their posterity the whole country of the Pouisi is even now governed."

However, Vortigern was becoming daily more intimate with his Saxon guests. "Then," says Nennius, "Satan entered into his heart, and he fell in love with the daughter of Hengist, and he promised half of his kingdom to have her in marriage." Thus was the county of Kent given away. Soon after, a fresh body of strangers arrived from the German coasts, at Vortigern's invitation. These were Octha and Ebissa, with forty skiffs, who, at the request of the king, sailed towards the Picts, and laid waste the Orkney Islands, and settled in the country which lies on the confines of the Picts. Vortigern was hastening the ruin of his country by his follies and his vices. As a crowning of his wickedness, he married his own daughter, and had a son by her. Upon hearing which St. German came, with all the British Clergy, to reprove him. A large Synod was convened, at which the Clergy and laity attended. The king then ordered his daughter to present herself to the assembly, and deliver the child to German, declaring that German himself was the father of it. She acted as she was instructed. German, however, received the child with benevolence, and said, "Yes, I will be a father to thee, nor will I part with thee, unless a razor with tongs and comb be given me, and thou transfer them to thy father according to the flesh." The child obeyed,

and advanced towards Vortigern, his father and grandfather at the same time, and he said to him, "Thou art my father; shave my head—the hair of my head." Vortigern remained silent, and would not answer the child, but rose up in a great rage, and fled from the presence of St. German. He was then condemned, and anathematised by St. German and all the Council of the Britons. This Council, we learn, was held at Guarthernia (probably in Wales). When Vortemir, the son of Vortigern, saw that his father had been condemned for incest by German, and by the British Clergy, and had taken flight, he came and threw himself at the feet of the Saint, and asked his pardon. Then, on account of the calumny which his father and sister had spread against German, he decreed that ever after the land on which the Bishop had suffered the ignominy should be his property. Hence, in memory of St. German, it received the name of Guartheunia (or Guarthernia), which, by interpretation, is "The calumny justly repulsed."[1]

It would be too long to follow Vortigern into his retirement at Snowden, where he built a castle, to consolidate which he was advised by wizards (the constant companions of abandoned sovereigns) to sprinkle the blood of a child which had no father. Suffice it to say, the famous prophet, the very Merlin was found, who was also called Ambrosius, and was the son of a Roman Consul. In the meantime Vortemir undertook the cause of the Britons, which his father had betrayed to the Saxons, and was

[1] See Nennius, pp. 30, 35, and Usher, p. 385.

victorious in four battles, in the last of which he died. After his death, Vortigern was taken captive treacherously by the Saxons, and obliged to deliver up to them Essex and Sussex for his ransom. "However," continues Nennius, "St. German did not desist from preaching to Vortigern to turn to the Lord. But the king fled to the region which owes its name to him, Guorthigirniaun, where he concealed himself with his wives. But St. German followed with all the British clergy; and there he remained forty days and forty nights, praying upon the rock, and standing night and day. Then Vortigern again ignominiously retired to the fort of Guorthigirn, which is in the country of the Demeti (including Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire), near the river Teibi (now called Teify). Still St. German followed him, and when he arrived he remained three days and as many nights fasting with the whole clergy that accompanied him. On the fourth night, about midnight, the entire fortress, struck by fire from heaven, fell to the ground; and Vortigern with all who were with him, and his wives, disappeared." Such was the end of this ill-fated monarch, the account of which Nennius professes to have found in the Book of St. German, though there were, he adds, other reports. The names of Vortigern's legitimate sons have already been given, Vortimer, Categirn, Parcent. It is somewhat remarkable that the offspring of his incestuous marriage became a Saint, under the name of Saint Faustus. After the miraculous obedience which he had displayed in the way above related, he was baptized and educated by St.

German; and having built a monastery on the banks of the river Renis, he there devoted himself to the service of God.

Such are the deeds and transactions which in early times were connected with the name of German in this Island. In fact they constituted the popular legend of that Saint, and went much farther towards rendering him familiar to the English than the more authentic narratives of Constantius and Bede. Nor is Nennius the only one who loved to explore the rich mine of the Legend of St. German; Henry of Huntingdon, John Gerbrand of Leyden, Galfridus, Matthæus Florilegus, and many others, transmitted in their turn the well-known story which was identified with many a national and local sympathy. Here was to be found the origin of the names of towns and churches; the clue to famous councils and victories. At the same time the great political revolution which German, if he did not witness, yet saw impending upon the nation, and the never forgotten British associations with which his name was allied, and which were stored up in the mountains of Wales, gave a popularity to his name which it is somewhat surprising should so completely have died away.

CHAPTER XXII

ST. GERMAN AND THE BARBARIANS

SCARCELY had German returned from his last expedition to Britain in the year 447, when he found a new field open for his exertions. The occasion was a deputation sent by the Armorican confederacy to entreat his assistance against their two united enemies, the Roman generals and their allies the Barbarian Alani. That a holy Bishop should be applied to may surprise us at first, but will cease to do so when the nature of the case is explained. However, in order to understand how Barbarians came to be the allies of Romans against a Christian and orthodox people, it will be necessary to go back a few years to their first introduction into Gaul. First, let it be observed, the Alani, against whom the Armoricans chiefly demanded succour, were a race of Huns, stationed on the banks of the Loire, near Orleans, to repress the rebels, and who acted under the conduct of their king, Eochar.

The position of the different Barbarians in Gaul at this time was as follows. The Franks, the "heathen and perfidious Franks,"[1] occupied a part of the northern provinces of the two Belgicæ and

[1] Salvian, p. 89. Dubos, tom. i. p. 438. Thierry, Lettres sur la France.

the second Germanica, a district which now might be said to extend from the banks of the river Somme, in Picardy, towards those of the Moselle. The Visigoths possessed the greater part of the western and south-western provinces, south of the river Loire, called at that time Narbonnensis Prima, Novempopulania and the Second Aquitania. The Burgundians were settled in the east of Gaul, in the provinces of Germanica Prima and Maxima Sequanorum, answering to the modern Alsace, Franche-comté and Switzerland. These were the three great divisions of Barbarians. With regard to the two latter, it is to be remarked that they were Christians, though Arians. "In every nation," says Salvian, "there were two kinds of Barbarians, the Pagans and the Heretics."[1] Of the former class were another large tribe of men who besides these had entered into Gaul, though they had as yet no settled abode, and with whom the History of St. German is more immediately connected. These were the Alani mentioned already, a section of the Huns: both which races, parent and offspring, deserved the epithets of "rapacious, drunken, impure."[2] The great leader of the Huns, Attila, entered Gaul a few years later; the detachment of them here in question was introduced somewhat earlier and in a very different way.

Among the political intrigues which disturbed the imperial court at Ravenna, many will remember the famous quarrel of Aetius, the great Roman general, and Count Boniface, his worthy rival, who

[1] Salvian, p. 86. [2] Ibid. p. 89.

commanded in Africa. How this quarrel was connected with the entry of Alani into Gaul is now to be shown. The crisis of their feud took place in a meeting of the two rivals in the plains of Italy on the field of battle. Boniface was victorious, but he died of his wounds.[1] Aetius, deprived by the Empress Placidia and her son Valentinian of his dignity and titles, retired into the land of the Huns, who were then governed by Rugila, the father of Attila. Here he received the most cordial welcome. An alliance ensued between the savage chieftain and the Roman exile which subsisted for a long time.[2] In the year 435, after two years' banishment, the indispensable Aetius was again restored to the favour of the court. The highest honour of the age was bestowed upon him; he was made Patrician. At this juncture he sent to his associates, the Huns, to obtain troops to defend Gaul against its many assailants. A large body of these, who went by the name of Alani, were accordingly enlisted in the Roman armies; and shortly after Aetius stationed a great number on the banks of the Loire. Their very entry into Gaul was prophetic of their future behaviour. They made a violent attack upon the Burgundians, the mildest and most equitable of the Barbarian settlers, and killed twenty thousand of them, according to Gibbon. Certain it is that a great part of the Burgundians are represented to have perished in the massacre, to which Aetius, the Patrician, was not altogether a stranger. This

[1] Prosp. Chron. 432. Dubos, p. 353, tom. i. Gibbon, tom. iv.
[2] Dubos, p. 362.

act was the more savage, as a treaty had lately been made with the Burgundians.[1]

The next enemy against whom the Alani were employed were the Visigoths. Here the reason was more just. The Visigoths were daily taking advantage of the disturbed state of the empire. "They were ever violating treaties," says St. Prosper, "and continued to obtain possession of the greater number of the large towns which were situated near their kingdom. Narbonne they were now aiming at eagerly."[2] But Narbonne was rescued by the reinforced troops of Aetius; and the Visigoths were repeatedly conquered.[3] The new allies of the Romans by this time rendered the imperial army a match for the Goths. The Gothic nations were skilful in the management of the sword and the spear, but they were deficient in horse. The Scythian tribes on the contrary, and among them the Alani, possessed a superior cavalry, and they were equally expert in governing their warlike steeds, and using the bow and arrow and other missiles. After these victories, Aetius stationed a great part of his allies at or near Orleans, under the conduct of their king Sambida, for reasons which will soon be explained, and in consequence of which the Armorican confederacy were afterwards obliged to apply to St. German. Then Aetius departed to Rome.

In his absence Littorius Celsus, the commanding officer of the Romans, urged by the opportunity of distinguishing himself, notwithstanding a treaty

[1] Prosper, Chron. ad an. 435. Montesquieu, Esprit des Lois, tom. ii.
[2] Prosp. ad an. 436.
[3] Prosp. ad an. 438.

which had been made with the Visigoths, made war upon them. Let us hear Prosper.[1] "Littorius, who acted as lieutenant of the Patrician Aetius in the command of the auxiliary troops of the Huns or Alani, desirous of eclipsing the reputation of his superior, and trusting in the oracles of Augurs and the promises of Devils, imprudently engaged with the Visigoths. The event showed that anything might have been expected from his army; but a general was wanting. His troops were beaten, but not till they had broken the ranks of the enemy, and Littorius was taken prisoner; and so the defeat was decisive." This action took place near Toulouse. Theodoric was king of the Visigoths. Littorius was put to death.[2] After this fatal engagement peace was again made with the Visigoths, through the instrumentality of Avitus, the future emperor, the father-in-law of the poet and scholar Sidonius Apollinaris, and a native of Auvergne.[3]

It was a difficult thing to find safe occupation for the restless Alani. Do something they must. At a loss for an occasion, they might turn and attack their own employers; but there was as yet no need for that. It has already been stated in a previous chapter, and supposed in this, that in the north-western parts of Gaul a large League or Confederacy existed, under the name of the Armorican Republic, to the standards of which all the rebels of the Empire, who did not join the Barbarians, flocked. The Armoricans were a Christian and orthodox people, who inhabited the second and

[1] Prosp. ad an. 439. [2] Dubos, tom. i. p. 374, &c.
[3] Sidon. in Paneg. Aviti. vers. 297.

third Lugdunensis : that is, the whole of the country north of the Loire, as far as Orleans and the Seine.[1] With the rest of the ancient inhabitants of Gaul, they came into the dominion of the Romans in Julius Cæsar's time. They have always been noted for that independence and energy of character which afterwards were so often displayed in the annals of France, and not long since evinced in the neighbouring plains of La Vendeé. Armorica did not obtain the name of Brittany till after the conquest of Great Britain by the Saxons, when great numbers of Britons, as is well known, took refuge there. The Armorican confederacy, however, embraced what is now called Normandy, a name likewise of later use.[2] In the early part of the fifth century the Armoricans were particularly known for their spirit of insubordination. Constantius speaks "of the insolence of that proud people," and "their presumption which required a severe lesson ;" and again animadverts "on the changeableness and fickleness which prompted a restless and undisciplined people to frequent rebellions."[3] And in the ninth century, Hericus of Auxerre, whose masters Charlemagne, Louis-le-Débonnaire, and Charles-le-Chauve, had to deal with this people, describes them as "stern, haughty, boastful, forward, imprudent, rebellious, fickle, ever changing from love of novelty, profuse in words, less

[1] "Gens inter geminos notissima clauditur amnes,
Armoricana prius veteri cognomine dicta."
Hericus, vit. Met. lib. v. ch. 1. See also Tillem. xv. p. 20, Dubos, p. 439 and p. 69.

[2] Dubos, p. 439.

[3] Lib. ii. § 62. Lib. ii. § 73.

ready to make them good; esteeming it an honour to promise much and perform little." Allowing for considerable colouring on the part of advocates for the opposite cause, yet it is not surprising if they were such as they are described. In fact, the Armoricans were nothing less than rebels; their republic was not of such long standing that Constantius could regard them otherwise than as disobedient Roman subjects. They were, if not the whole, yet the greater part of that vast coalition of insurgents who went by the name of Bagaudæ. It may seem singular to attempt to differ with a contemporary writer of such great claims to respect as Constantius, but he himself, who bears witness to the fact, undoubtedly would have acknowledged the justness of the reasons which palliate the offence of these Insurgents. The very name of Bagaudæ, like that of Chartists in England, was expressive of contempt and abhorrence; and names have a prestige about them which it requires definition and analysis to dissipate. But let us listen to Salvian, another contemporary author.[1] "It is the injustice of the Romans which has constrained men, all over the Empire, no longer to remain Romans. I am speaking of the Bagaudæ. Spoiled, harassed, murdered by wicked and cruel judges, they have lost all the rights of Roman liberty—they relinquish the honour of the Roman name. We impute to them their misfortunes; we cast in their teeth the name which distinguishes their misery—a name of which we are the sole cause. We call them rebels,

[1] De Guber. p. 108, ed. Baluz.

we call them abandoned men ; but their guilt is ours. What else has made them Bagaudæ but our iniquities, the crying injustice of our magistrates, the proscriptions, the pillage exercised by those who turn the public exactions into private extortion and spoil, who make the assessment of taxes the occasion for plunder ; who, like ferocious wild beasts, instead of ruling their dependants, devour them. Nor are they content with plunder alone, but they feast, so to say, upon the blood of their victims. Hence it has happened that men, mangled and half killed by iniquitous judges, have begun to assume a position like that of the Barbarians—in fact they were not suffered to be Romans. . . . What do we see every day ? Those who are not Bagaudæ yet are compelled to become so."

The first great insurrection took place about 434.[1] Prosper says : "The northern provinces of Gaul having been seduced by Tibato, seceded from the Roman alliance, which was the first cause of that general confederacy of the Bagaudæ to which all the servile classes in Gaul acceded." Nothing more is known of Tibato ; the spirit of rebellion which he inflamed spread rapidly, and concentrated itself in the country of the Armoricans. To these all the slaves and oppressed tenants, and degraded burghers, and ruined *curiales*, looked for protection, during the vast system of oppression that was choking the last feeble breathings of the Roman existence. And no more urgent motive had Aetius the Patrician, in sending for troops from the Huns and Alani, than

[1] Dubos, tom. i. p. 355.

to subdue the ever-increasing numbers of the insurgents. Accordingly, as we have seen, he stationed a large body of Alani near Orleans, as being the frontier town. In all the wars with the Visigoths, a sketch of which has been given, the Armoricans were sure to take a part, always siding with the enemies of the Romans; and in all the treaties which were made the Armorican interests claimed due consideration. It was somewhat strange to see the orthodox Armoricans combining with the heretical Visigoths, at a time and in a country where Arianism was such a distinct mark of separation. But it was still more strange that the Christian Romans should call in the Pagan Huns to conquer Christians and Catholics. As yet, however, Aetius and his generals had not been able to make a regular attack upon the Armoricans; his efforts had been chiefly directed towards the principality of Toulouse. But by means of Sambida and his men, posted on the banks of the Loire, he kept a vigilant eye over their movements.

In 446, a year before St. German returned from Britain, an attempt was made against them, which has been recorded by St. Gregory of Tours in his life of St. Mesmius, a disciple of St. Martin. It appears that Aetius was himself compelled to depart, to make head against Clodion, the king of the Franks, who was advancing by slow but steady steps in the north-east of Gaul. Egidius Afranius, the same as Count Giles, took the command of the army on the Loire, the Barbarian chief acting probably under his guidance. St. Gregory, a native of those parts which previously belonged to the Armorican Confederacy,

and accordingly a favourer of the cause of his country, relates the following circumstance :[1] St. Mesmius came to Chinon, a fortified place near to Tours, and there he founded a monastery. Afterwards Egidius besieged the town, into which all the inhabitants of the district had fled for refuge, and caused the well, which was situated on the ridge of the hill where the besieged came to draw water, to be filled up. The servant of God, who was shut up within the place, seeing with grief the companions of his fortunes dying for want of water, passed a whole night in prayer. He implored God not to suffer the people to perish from thirst, and to thwart the designs of the enemy. St. Mesmius then had a revelation. At the dawn of day he assembled the besieged, and said unto them: "Let all who have vessels for water place them in the open air, and ask with confidence the help of the Lord. He will give you abundance of water ; more than is necessary for yourselves and children." He scarcely had ended when the sky became covered with dark clouds, and the rain fell amid vivid streaks of lightning and the roll of thunder. The besieged were doubly benefited. The storm which gave them water obliged the assailants to relinquish their works. The buckets of all were filled. "Thus," adds St. Gregory, "did the prayers of St. Mesmius avail to raise the siege of Chinon. The rustics afterwards retired without injury to their former dwellings."

Armorica then was a land of Saints. And Saints stood up in the defence of the Republic. There is

[1] De Gloria Conf. c. 22. See Dubos, p. 433.

a stage in oppression and injustice where insurrection is a kind of necessary consequence, and the laws of passive obedience seem suspended by the overpowering guilt of the governing party, or rather when to violate the duty of forbearance and patience has its excuse in the human infirmity, which cannot but exist in large bodies of men. No precedent or example may be quoted to sanction any violation of duty, but in looking back upon past times, a national sin, which is incurred under peculiarly trying circumstances and imminent danger, deserves, perhaps, some charitable apology. The Church that denounces the living sinner hopes for the dead. To both Constantius and Salvian the insurgents were Bagaudæ ; but with the latter, the excuse for them is explicit, with the former it is implied, in that St. German interceded for them, as will be seen.

The Alani or Huns were but too ready to second Egidius in his attack upon the Armoricans. In 447–448, when St. German returned from Britain, Eochar had succeeded Sambida[1] as King of the Barbarians. The same fierce and rapacious disposition was displayed by this chieftain as by his predecessor. Valesius thinks he is the same with Vitricus or Jutricus, whom St. Prosper mentions as a Roman ally, in 439, and marks out for his exploits in battle.[2] However, it would not require much to induce the greedy Alani to rush upon a prey so inviting as must have been the land of the Armoricans, if we may trust to descriptions. Situated along the

[1] Or Sangibanus.

[2] Vid. Not. Bollan. ad locum Const. Recueil des Historiens, tom. i. p. 632, ad notas. Dubos, tom. i. p. 384.

Loire, on the confines of the enemy, the least occasion would be seized for a plundering expedition. A historian of the time of François Premier, apparently a native of Brittany, when relating the early annals of the Armoricans, takes the opportunity to give the following picture of their country.[1] As its primitive simplicity and antiquated French can hardly be translated, the original will best serve to give an idea of the local advantages of this province.

"Le royaume de Bretaigne qui jadis fut appellé Armoricque est situé es extrémitez d'occident vers la fin de Europe, et est de la forme d'ung fer à cheval dont la rotondité est circuye a soleil resconsant de la mere occeane; et de gros et dangereux rochiers qui sout chascun tout convers et descouvers de la mer. Lesquels rochiers nuysent aux navires d'aborder à la terre. Par le haust vers orient joingt à ce royaume le bas pays de Normendie, Le Mans, Anjou, Poictou. En ce royaulme ya plaines et montaignes, prèz, forestz, rivieers, et landes. Les plaines croissent bons fromens, sègles, avoynes, riz, saffran, poix, fèves, aulx, oignons et autres fruitz. Les landes et montaignes on engresse force bestail. En aucuns lieux devers occident on faict le sel par singulière industrie. Car a ce faire ny a que l'eau de la mer et la vertu du soleil, et de ce sel toutes les contrées voysines et austres sont fournies et pourvueues. A l'environ de ceste Bretaigne, sont en mer plusieurs isles habitées qui sont de la dicte Bre-

[1] Grandes Chronique de Bretagne, published at Caen, 1518, and thus headed: "The author of this book came into England in embassage with Mr. François de Luxembourg, S. Charles Marigny, m. 4 raign 9 K. U. 8 vid." Fol. 220. Bodlei. Biblio.

taigne où il ya estangs et forestz et y croissent blez, vis (?) et autres commodités. Les forestz de ceste Bretaigne sont peuplées de venoysons et gybiers à foyson. Et ya en aucuns lieux mynières de argent, plomb, et fer. En plusieurs lieux y croissent vins en abundance pour fournir les habitans sisz sen vouloyent contenter. Par mer arrivent es portz et havres du pays toutes marchandises," &c.—Lib. ii. p. 34.

Such was the country upon which the impatient Alani were now to be let loose. Aetius, the Magnificent (this was the high-sounding title of the Patrician), irritated by the haughty conduct of the Armoricans, resolved to humble them by those, whom it was as dangerous to employ as it was to leave inactive. He gave orders to Eochar, king of the Alani (the fierceness of whose disposition did not belie his birth), to enter with his men the provinces north of the Loire.[1] The command was readily obeyed; and the Armoricans were obliged to give way before the onset of the Barbarians. As an only resource in their distress, they sent a deputation to German, who was now returned to Gaul, to request his intercession with the enemy. It will be remembered that twenty-nine years before this event, German had himself been governor of the provinces which desired his assistance, with the title of Duke of the Armorican and Nervican dis-

[1] The Bollandists are evidently right in reading Alanorum, not Alemannorum, with Surius; both reason and MSS. prove it. The Bodl. MS. of Constantius, and all those quoted by Boschius, have the same. So also in Salvian, p. 89, read Alani, not Almanni, and perhaps instead of Albani.

trict, including five provinces, the two Aquitains, the second and third Lugdunensis, and Senonia, in which Auxerre was situated.[1] We are not strictly told that the application of the Armoricans was founded upon any reasons arising from this circumstance; yet we can hardly help conjecturing that some such consideration had its weight. The exceeding holiness of his life was, however, the ostensible reason of the embassy. Old as he was, for he was in his seventieth year, they deemed he alone could check the Pagan and savage Huns. German, confident in the all-powerful strength of Christ, says Constantius, set out without delay. The Alani had already begun their march. No time was to be lost; their troops and cavalry loaded with iron armour already filled the high roads. The Bishop of Auxerre advanced to meet them. Passing through their ranks, he penetrated to their king Eochar, who followed in the rear. Fearless of the numbers that surrounded him, German drew near, accompanied by an interpreter. He then began to address the king in the language of a suppliant. But when he saw his petition was disregarded, he proceeded to reproofs. At last, when all was vain, stretching forth his arm, and laying hold of the reins of his horse, he stopped his progress, and that of the rest of the army. It was expected this rash act would have cost him dear. But the king was struck with astonishment and admiration. God seemed to have moved his iron heart. Reverence and awe, for which the wild and vague Scythian superstition

[1] Notitia Dignit. Imperii.

offered no incentive, appeared, for the first time, on the fierce visage of the Barbarian, at the sight of German's courage, his authoritative demeanour, his august countenance.[1] The result was that the preparations for war, and the vast concourse of arms, were converted into the more peaceful measures of a public conference. The king consented to forego his own desires and those of his men, and to adapt his conduct to the proposals of German. It was agreed that a truce should be observed, till the will of the Emperor or his lieutenant, Aetius, were ascertained. The forces were then disbanded, and they retired to their respective stations. Thus, a second time, were the virtues of God's Saints instrumental in averting the otherwise inevitable fury of the Barbarians. Three parallel instances occurred not long after, when the whole nation of the Huns, under Attila, invaded the unfortunate Gaul. St. Lupus saved Troyes, St. Anian saved Orleans, St. Genevieve rescued Paris. Like St. German, however, they did not confront the Barbarian. It is perhaps not unworthy of notice, that the same pens which have consigned to memory the ravages of the Barbarians are they which have attested the miracles. The history of these times is chiefly dependent upon Christian testimony.

The learned Dubos seems to think this interview between German and Eochar took place near

[1] "Nec templum apud eos visitur, aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem, culmo tectum cerni usquam potest; sed *gladius* Barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem regionum quas circumcircant præsulem verecundius colunt."—Ammian Marcell. quoted by Gibbon, iv. 238.

Chartres, one of the principal cities in the province of Senonia, called in the Latin Tables Carnotum.[1] But he is wrong when he assigns the date of it to 443, unless Constantius has totally disregarded chronological order. The Bollandists refer it to 447 or 448 with apparent reason.

We have no certain information concerning the particular conditions of the truce granted by Eochar. As a general fact, we learn that the Armoricans were to send immediately to the court of Ravenna some one entrusted with full powers to conclude an agreement with the Emperor; that measures should be taken for a final conclusion of peace, and a suspension of arms observed by all parties, till the pardon of the Emperor was obtained.

He who had delivered the Armoricans from destruction was now the person they fixed upon to carry their cause before the Emperor. The combined reasons which had made them select German in the first case would also mark him out for the present negotiation. Republics, as well as other States, are governed by men of the world. They are glad if skill can be found connected with piety and good report, but they usually determine their choice by the political talents of their representatives, and their practical knowledge and prudence. German's long experience in the civil affairs of the Empire, his previous profession of pleader and magistrate, his acquaintance with the Armorican character and condition from having

[1] Tom. i. p. 388.

been Governor of the Provinces—these were circumstances not to be overlooked in a negotiation rendered so difficult by the intrigues of the Court. It might have been expected that the commissioner of the Armoricans would have applied for pardon to Aetius. Aetius was in effect the Emperor in Gaul, and he was very near the scene of the transaction. Yet so it was not. There were good reasons for avoiding him. Aetius was the special adversary of the Armoricans; he had introduced the Alani originally with a direct intention against them; he had himself given the order for the late attack; nor would the frightful massacre of the Burgundians be soon forgotten. On the other hand, the court of Ravenna was likely to adopt measures opposite to those of Aetius. Weak governments are wont to disclaim the acts of their delegates; and expedients are synonymous with changes and reversals. Then Aetius had never been popular in the imperial circle; feared, while favoured, he was employed because his genius and the straits of the times pointed him out as the only support of the empire.

But it may be as well to explain the cause of that influence which, from the banks of the Meuse to the coasts of the Adriatic, could, without any express declarations, be so powerfully felt. The following portrait of this extraordinary man is given by Gibbon from a contemporary author:—

"His mother was a wealthy and noble Italian, and his father, Gaudentius, who held a distinguished rank in the province of Scythia, gradually rose from the station of a military domestic to the dignity of

master of the cavalry. Their son, who was enrolled almost in his infancy in the guards, was given as a hostage, first to Alaric and afterwards to the Huns; and he successively obtained the civil and military honours of the palace, for which he was equally qualified by superior merit. The graceful figure of Aetius was not above the middle stature, but his manly limbs were admirably formed for strength, beauty, and agility; and he excelled in the martial exercises of managing a horse, drawing the bow, and darting the javelin. He could patiently endure the want of food or of sleep; and his mind and body were alike capable of the most laborious efforts. He possessed the genuine courage that can despise not only dangers, but injuries; and it was impossible either to corrupt or deceive, or intimidate the firm integrity of his soul." To which original testimony Gibbon adds in a note, that this flattering portrait would have been more correct had the author not insisted upon his patient *forgiving* disposition.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE INVASION VIEWED BY CONTEMPORARIES

AND now before we follow St. German into the last events of his busy life, let us pause awhile to consider what Christians at the time thought of the Invasions of the Barbarians, one tribe of whom we have just seen exterminating on their entrance into Gaul twenty thousand peaceful Burgundian Colonists, and on the eve of laying waste a rich province of that same country. Living as we do in an age of security, we have the greatest difficulty in entering into the true feelings of men who were placed in the midst of those frightful scenes. No event in real life is like what we fancy it to be in our studies; no plan which we have prepared at home preserves its identity when thrown into the actualities of the world. Must we then take the contradictory of our expectations for historical truth? Must we imagine that those who at first sight should seem the most wretched of men, were in point of fact just as well off as we are? In history there is always a danger of theorising; learning may be set off to advantage by an ingenious scaffolding, but its usefulness depends on the solidity of the materials.

However, it is certain from experience that

calamities have almost always their tolerable side. Whether it be that nothing comes to pass without the lapse of time, and time baffles in a thousand ways the apparently unavoidable effects of impending causes; or that causes in themselves are ever inadequate, or are met by other antagonist causes, so that the event is less terrible than was expected, —true it is that mankind always find an opening which makes life still dear and hopeful to them. We read of a shocking accident by a railroad; the preparatory circumstances come first, then the crash, and we think all must be over. But it so happens that none of our relations perish, though those next to them have been destroyed. Here is our comfort, we care but little about the victims; the world goes on again as usual; it is the living who influence, who lead the world; and as long as there is one living, his judgment, his views are to be regarded.

It seems scarcely deniable that something of this kind took place in Europe during the Invasions of the Barbarians. Salvian talks of a kind of sullen stupor that had come over the world.[1] Men knew they were miserable enough, and were ready to ask why believers in God were the sufferers;[2] yet the past was soon cast aside and accounted for nothing; and luxury, vice, extravagance, ambition, public amusements and dissipation, seemed rather to have increased than diminished.[3] Strange to

[1] Salvian, de Gub. 145. "Sopor Domini irruerat super eos." Vid. Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. v. 548.

[2] See Gub. Dei, pp. 43, 45.

[3] Ibid. 126, et 143. "Assiduitas calamitatum, augmentum criminum fecit."

say, the religious feelings which so unprecedented a chain of misfortunes was calculated to produce, degraded a man in themselves from his station in society. "Religion," says the same author, "makes a nobleman a boor."[1] And the disgraceful phenomenon which was so signally manifested at the time of the French Revolution, had its vivid precedent in the state of Gaul and other countries during the fifth century. On the one hand, "language unknown in the Church, perfectly heathen and monstrous, was everywhere heard; profane exclamations against God, insulting blasphemies. God, they said, had no care for the world, He was no governor, no director, but an unmerciful, ungracious, inhuman, stern, inflexible being."[2] On the other hand, gladiatorial shows grew in esteem. The treasures of the world were spent in bringing from distant countries wild beasts; it was a livelihood to ferret the deep valleys and the winding mountains of the Alps for the amusements of the theatre.[3] Words failed to describe the various pastimes of men. There were circus, amphitheatres, music rooms, playhouses, pageants, wrestling matches, jugglers, pantomimes, and other ill-timed spectacles without end.[4] In short, laughing was the order of the day.[5] In forcible contrast came the reproach from the mouth of the indignant witness: Christ never laughed!

[1] See Gub. Dei, p. 76.
[2] Ibid. p. 84.
[3] Ibid. p. 124.
[4] Ibid. pp. 126 et 141. Vid. also Aug. Civ. Dei, p. 43. Ben. Nova Ed.
[5] P. 130.

But there was a remnant, a large remnant, who reflected upon the mysterious dispensations of God that were going on. Never were there more holy bishops, more saintly monks, more devout virgins and matrons, a more zealous clergy. We have high authority for saying that the fifth century produced more canonised Bishops in France than all the subsequent centuries together.[1] Numbers of these servants of God had suffered in the distresses of the age, some death, some spoliation, some tortures, some other various acts of violence. This circumstance aggravated the general calamity, and at the same time increased the perplexity of religious men. How was God's wisdom and justice to be vindicated amid so much innocence and misfortune? That it must and could be vindicated none doubted. The Invasion of the Barbarians, with its cruel consequences, Christian writers had little hesitation in declaring to be a divine punishment for the sins of the world. "I will visit their transgressions with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes," was the language of the Psalmist which the orthodox pleader would cite. "On account of men's excessive pride, their licentiousness and avarice, their execrable wickedness and impiety, God had visited the earth with a scourge."[2] "We have hardened ourselves," said another, "as rocks; the greatest afflictions have not availed to make us feel our wickedness, and notwithstanding this inundation of Barbarians, the natives of Gaul are just as they were."[3]

[1] Dubos, Hist. Crit. p. 17.

[2] St. Aug. Civ. Dei, ch. ix. B. I. [3] Salvian, p. 141.

But was the world worse than it had been two or three centuries back, under Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Commodus, Heliogabalus? Had not the empire espoused the cause of the Church, and was not Paganism fast dying away? Were there not thousands of holy monks, hermits, virgins, bishops and priests, for a sweet-smelling savour unto the Lord? Why had these very Saints endured cruelties and shame unprecedented? Would not the blasphemies of the heathens receive encouragement if the introduction of Christ's religion and the desertion of Jupiter's temples were announced by such disasters?[1]

To these difficulties it was answered, that come what would, it was a standing truth, that the reward of the good is not in this world, that no temporal chastisements are to be considered as the full retribution of the reprobate. Why do men look for the recompense of a holy life here on earth? Why do they despond because the wicked have leisure to scoff? Adversity is not for bad men, but for the good. It is true, we may seek reverently to understand the reason of God's dealings with us, because His government is a moral one. Might this then not be, that there is a point at which the Divine justice can no longer endure the accumulated sins of past years, and wrath goes out from Him to spread general devastation? And in thus acting does He not hasten the reward of the good while He sweeps away the wicked? The delays of God's vengeance are thought a serious

[1] St. Aug. Civ. Dei, Lib. i. passim. Vid. etiam Prosper, Poem, de Providentia, apud Hist. de la Gaule. Bouquet.

objection; but why? If He spares Rome under Nero, He reserves the punishment of her crimes for the next world. If He pours forth His wrath upon Rome under Honorius and Arcadius, who knows but this may be part of a merciful dispensation? He punishes now that He may save hereafter. Some but for this visitation might have died in impenitency. Nay, there is a plain reason why this should be so. If every crime was straightway followed by its corresponding punishment, it might be thought that nothing was left for the last judgment. On the other hand, if no sin was punished in this world, it might be urged that there was no Divine Providence always presiding over the world. However, wisdom is justified of her children.

But there are two cardinal mistakes which men generally make when they dispute the wisdom of God's dealings; either by contemplating only individual cases, they forget the broad principles upon which all government hangs; or they pass over the real nature of the case, and its particulars, in endeavouring to lay down general rules and maxims of justice and prudence. This last error then was also to be noticed, in order to settle the real state of the argument. And in fact, by a close examination into the history of the times, it was observed that a peculiar and minute providence seemed to have been in many cases displayed. The better part of mankind had by no means been so free from guilt as to expect exemption from a general visitation of God. While "kings had become the nursing fathers and queens the nursing mothers" of the

Church, a supineness and indifference unknown to times of persecution had crept into the Christian community. A love of worldly things was encroaching even upon the most serious and strict. With the married portion the circumstance was notorious. But retired virgins and monks were now taken up with an idle regard to opinion; pride and self-deception were making rapid strides. And Christians were beginning to show plainly their secret tenderness for vice, and respect for men's persons, in the unlawful leniency with which the faults of others were treated, and which they denominated charity. But to descend further still into details. When Rhadagaisus, in 406, came rushing like a torrent with his countless multitude of Goths upon the capital of the empire, he was with his whole army exterminated on the plains of Etruria, without loss on the part of the Romans. Now at this very time the Pagans in Rome were vehemently upbraiding the Christians, saying, that Rhadagaisus, the Goth, must of necessity conquer and take the city, because their gods had been exploded and the God of the Christians introduced.[1] Here the destruction of the irresistible Goths seemed to come like a miraculous interposition of Divine Justice. Nothing was better authenticated. The news was brought from all sides to Carthage, where St. Augustine lived. Again, when Rome was captured and pillaged by Alaric, there was this to be remarked that Alaric was a Christian, and a man of high qualities, though a Barbarian. Nor did

[1] It was a popular saying among the Pagans, "Pluvia defit causâ Christiani."

he suffer promiscuous devastation. The natural chances of war had their play; but he had given strict orders that the temples of God should be spared, and all who had taken refuge there should be safe from the fury of the soldiery.[1]

[1] See St. Aug. Civ. Dei, Lib. i. ch. viii., &c., and Lib. ii. ch. iii., Lib. v. ch. xxiii. 22. St. Chrys. Hom. ad Antioch, § 6, tom. ii. p. 8. Comp. Le Maistre, Soirées de St. Petersbourg, tom. ii. pp. 143–150. Jeremy Taylor's Serm. on the Entail of Curses, and Chateaubriand's Martyrs.

CHAPTER XXIV

ST. GERMAN AT MILAN

GERMAN was now in the last year of his life; he was nearly seventy years old, having been born in 378. He had passed thirty years in the fulfilment of the arduous duties of a bishop, a bishop of the fifth century. He had acted in the various capacities of Apostle, spiritual overseer, mediator between nations at war, temporal magistrate, teacher of Gaul, president and counsellor at Synods, adviser of Bishops and Archbishops. At last he was invested with the office of Ambassador. Never since his ordination had he known peace and tranquillity. Even among so many illustrious prelates, who by their sanctity and vigorous activity preserved some remaining order in the political agitations which disturbed the world, German seemed to stand alone. "He went on," says Constantius, "from strength to strength, according to the Psalmist."

Losing no time, he set off immediately for Italy to discharge his new functions. At first his way lay in the direction which he had previously taken, when he went to Arles through Lyons. He came again to the village in the district of Alesia, where his friend the presbyter Senator lived. It will be remembered that on his former journey through

this place, Senator and Nectariola had received him under their hospitable roof, and that his departure had been followed by a remarkable miracle.[1] When he arrived there the second time, Senator presented to him a girl about twenty years old, who was dumb. German then rubbed her mouth, her forehead, and her face, with some oil which he had blessed; afterwards he took a cup, into which he had broken three small bits of bread; placing one of the bits into her mouth with his own hands, he bade her swallow it and the others, using a form of grace beforehand. Immediately with a loud voice she pronounced the thanksgiving, swallowed the bread, and obtained the faculty of speaking which she had not possessed till then.

After this miracle, German threw himself into the arms of his friend Senator, with a burst of feeling to which he had not been known to give way; and having embraced him affectionately, he exclaimed: "Farewell for ever, beloved brother, farewell. God grant that we may meet at the day of judgment without confusion of face; for on earth we shall never again enjoy the company of each other." In fact he had been granted a foresight of his approaching end.

The attendants which he took with him were few; probably as few as were consistent with the dignity of a nation's representative, as many as his own modesty would permit. Among these were some of his own clergy. On a former occasion we find he had travelled on horseback; at his more

[1] See ch. xix. p. 338.

advanced age he would not have parted with this small comfort on a journey of such length and difficulty. However, though he courted privacy, multitudes thronged to meet him. This journey was long after famous ; on all the high-roads by which he passed oratories and images of the cross were subsequently erected, indicating the places where he had stopped to pray and to preach. When Constantius wrote nearly forty years after, he could appeal to them as standing witnesses.

When he came near to Autun a large multitude issued to receive him. It was his practice to visit the burial-places of the Saints, and on this occasion he directed first his steps to the tomb of the Bishop St. Cassian, which according to custom was situated without the town. The tomb of St. Cassian was renowned for the veneration in which it was held by the people. St. Gregory of Tours, at a later period, says[1] it was everywhere pricked and scraped, and full of holes, from the number of sick persons who had come to be cured of their diseases. This St. Cassian, who must not be confounded with St. Cassian the Martyr or with the famous John Cassian, lived in the fourth century ; he was born at Alexandria, and for a time was Bishop of Ortha, in Egypt. Afterwards he passed into Gaul, and settled at Autun with St. Rheticius, Bishop of that place, and finally succeeded to him in that See. His death, of which no precise account has been left, but which was apparently natural, secured him a place among the Confessors of the time. German,

[1] Gloria Confess. 74, and Baillet, Vie des Saints, Aug. v.

on approaching his sepulchre, beheld on the white stone the figure of the cross, formed as it were by the different shades of the marble, a kind of evidence of the departed Saint's virtues. On seeing this he offered up a prayer as he was wont, and exclaimed: "What art thou doing here, illustrious brother?" Immediately St. Cassian from the tomb answered in the hearing of all present: "I am enjoying sweet peace without interruption, and waiting for the coming of the Redeemer." Then German replied: "Repose there long in Christ. But do thou intercede earnestly with our Lord Jesus Christ for us and for this people, that we may be esteemed meet to hear the sound of the Divine trumpet, and obtain the joys of a holy resurrection." "Such," remarks Constantius, "was the marvellous gift of German, that he could hold intercourse even with those who were concealed in the grave; each one of the miracles he performed had its wonders; but the rarity of examples of this kind adds to our astonishment. Two Saints of great fame who had never been in the presence of each other were here holding converse together, the one among the living, the other among the dead; both indeed citizens of the blessed and heavenly Jerusalem, both enjoying already heaven in part, both in part yet sojourning on earth; he who was already in possession of his country recognised his fellow-soldier, still in exile, and responded to his prayers and address."[1]

While German stopped at Autun, surrounded by a large number of people, a man and his wife came

[1] "Votis et alloquio." Vit. S. Germ. Lib. ii. § 64, Boll. and p. 23, MS. Bodlei.

to him, and kneeling down, presented their daughter, who was grown up, and afflicted with a grievous infirmity. From her birth, the nerves of her fingers had been contracted, and turned round into the palm of her hand; the nails had pierced the hand, and penetrated as far as the bones. German then took hold of her fingers, and restored them one by one to their proper direction. When he had done this, so great was his charity in little things, we are told, that with his own hands he condescended to cut the nails of the girl, which had grown to an excessive length.

After this action he left Autun, and proceeded on his journey to Italy. He had as yet advanced but a short way. The road from Auxerre to Milan, by Vienne and the Cottian Alps, is described in the Antonine Itinerary[1] as being of the extent of six hundred and thirty-four Roman miles. We are not informed by which way St. German went to Italy, but the collection of circumstances may lead to a probable conjecture. There seem to have been three principal roads between Auxerre and Milan, two of which were the same as far as Vienne. The other lay in the direction of the Jura,[2] taking in Alesia, Dijon, Besançon, Pontarlier, Orbe, Lausanne, St. Maurice, Martigny, and the Great St. Bernard (the Mons Jovis). That this road was a frequented one in early times is shown by the famous massacre of the Christian Legion, called the Theban, by the Emperor Maximian, in the beginning of the fourth century, which took place at Agaunum, the ro-

[1] Vid. Recueil des Hist. tom. i. p. 105.

[2] See the Map of Bouquet and Le Beuf, in Recueil des Hist. t. i.

mantic spot since called St. Maurice, from one of the martyred soldiers; and in the ninth century the remains of St. Urban and St. Tiburtius, which were brought from Italy to Auxerre, passed by St. Maurice.[1] However, there is more reason to think St. German followed one of the other roads. Tradition affirmed he took Vienne and Vercellæ on his way;[2] and Hericus of Auxerre, whose attention had been carefully directed to every small circumstance connected with his patron Saint, tells us that the Pennine Alps were famous for his miracles, and especially the Mons *minoris* Jovis, which there is every reason to suppose was the Little St. Bernard,[3] as distinguished from the Great St. Bernard, *the* Mons Jovis. This inference is supported by the fact that a village, situated just under the Little St. Bernard, is named to this day Colona Joux, which latter word is a corruption of Jovis; and perhaps still more by another village, close to the same spot, which is still called St. Germain. And indeed Hericus, in the ninth century, positively affirms that all who go to Rome must unavoidably pass by this way; and he informs us that the village alluded to was called after St. German, because the body of the Saint not long after rested there, on its return to Gaul; and a Church in his honour was there erected. It is conceived, then, that German went first to Vienne, then to the Little St. Bernard, afterwards to Eporedia, now

[1] Heric. de Mir. ch. iii. § 109.

[2] Ado Viennensis apud Bolland. notas.

[3] See D'Anville, Descript. de la France.—Fol. Bosch. Not. ad locum Heric. ch. viii. de Mir. Arrowsmith's last large Atlas, 1832.

called Ivrea, and thence to Vercelli, on towards Milan.

During his passage of the Alps (for of this there is no doubt whatever) he fell in with some workmen who were returning from their labour. Oppressed with their burdens, they had great difficulty in ascending the mountainous steeps. They came to the banks of a torrent which, like Alpine torrents, rushed violently down the hill. The stepping-stones which were thrown across were but uncertain and vacillating. One of the poor travellers was an old and lame man. Seeing this, German took himself the burden on his shoulders, and deposited it on the other side; then he returned, and carried over the old man in the same way. To appreciate this signal act of charity, we are desired by Constantius to consider the extreme age of German himself. His face, he says, was emaciated by the rigour of his fasts; he seldom ate anything but once a week, and then only barley bread; he never got sleep except on a hard couch; was ever employed on long and wearisome journeys, and was hardly able to support himself. Such was the man who, born of noble parents and raised to the highest stations in the empire, and dignified with the title of Apostle, could lower himself towards a poor old labourer in this touching manner.

Tradition brings German next to Vercelli, where, not St. Eusebius, as Hericus supposes,[1] but some other Bishop, received him, perhaps St. Albinus. The circumstances of his reception and its results

[1] Heric. de Mir. § 29. Ughellus, Ital. Sacra, tom. iv.

will be best understood at a later period of this narrative. Suffice it to say, that the Bishop desired St. German to dedicate on his return a Church he was building, which he promised to do. It is however to be remarked, that there is still a village near Vercelli called after St. German.

German arrived at Milan on the festival of St. Protasius and Gervasius, that is, the 19th of June 448.[1] These were the two Martyrs whose remains had been discovered by Ambrose, and gave occasion to the well-known miracle performed on a blind man. A great many Bishops,[2] with other clergy, were assembled for the feast. Milan was a metropolitan See, and one which has ever possessed peculiar and independent privileges. There were fifteen suffragan Bishops within the diocese.[3] St. Barnabas the Apostle was said to have founded the See of Milan. In all probability St. Lazarus was Bishop when German arrived, if it be true that he was elected in 440, and governed eleven years. He has deserved special mention in the Roman martyrology, and been praised in ten lines of poetry by Ennodius Ticinensis.

We must now imagine St. Lazarus in the principal Church clothed with his pontifical vestments, as for a great festival of the city, after the fashion of the very ancient Mosaic representation of the Archbishop of Ravenna in the Church of San Vitale.[4] He would be dressed in a white surplice or albe,

[1] Bede, Ephemeris Junii.

[2] Sacerdotes.

[3] Ughellus, Ital. Sacra, tom. iv.

[4] See the interesting Drawing in Knight's Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy. Folio, 1842.

with the pallium, the mark of his dignity, which was now coming into use in the West, after the custom of the Oriental Churches. This pallium seems to have been very different from the Archiepiscopal pall of a later period, which resembles a stole or scarf passed round the neck and joining over the breast. In the fifth century there is reason to think it was a white woollen chasuble or cloak, which covered nearly the whole body, without seam, and open only at the top to admit the head, descending nearly to the heels, and concealing the greater part of the albe. The significancy of this vestment consisted in its being an emblem of the sheep whom the Good Shepherd recovers from its wanderings and places on His shoulders. Hence it was called in Greek the Homophorion.[1] Over the pallium of St. Lazarus a stole of white silk or other stuff would be hanging on both sides, with a small black or coloured cross at each end. In his right hand he might be carrying an image of the cross, gilt, or of gold, with blue spots at intervals, probably some precious stones of great value. The minor clergy about him would also be clad in white surplices ; some might be carrying the volume

[1] See Thomassin. de Discipl., where the following apposite passage from St. Isidorus Pelusiota is quoted. Lib. i. Ep. 136. "Episcopi Pallium, ὠμοφόριον ex lanâ, non ex lino contextum, ovis illius, quam Dominus aberrantem quæsivit, inventamque humeris suis sustulit, pellem significat. Episcopus enim qui Christi typum gerit, ipsius munere fungitur, atque etiam ipso habitu illud omnibus ostendit, se boni illius ac magni Pastoris imitatorem esse, qui gregis infirmitates sibi ferendas proposuit."

It will be remarked that a contrary opinion has here been admitted to that which is given in Mr. Palmer's Orig. Lib. vol. ii. p. 322.

of the Gospels, others the censers with frankincense. The tonsure would be different according to the office of the ecclesiastic; the baldness of the Archbishop perhaps being more entire, the subordinate clergy having a kind of wreath of hair just above the temples and round by the ears. In this manner would St. Lazarus proceed to celebrate the Mass. He was now at the Altar with his Bishops and Clergy in the middle of the Sacred mysteries, when German, unknown and unexpected, entered the Cathedral. Immediately one of the people who was possessed with an evil spirit screamed out distinctly: "Why dost thou, German, persecute us even into Italy? Let it suffice thee to have banished us from Gaul, and overcome both us and the waves of the ocean by thy prayers. Why art thou found everywhere? Be still, that we also may be in peace." The Church was full of people. Every one turned round with surprise and fear. Each asked his neighbour who German might be. The dress of the traveller was so humble that he might have been overlooked, had not the dignity of his countenance attracted the attention of all. Upon being questioned, he declared who he was. By this time the Bishop of Milan and his assistants had come down from the Bema and Altar, and signified their profound respect for the Saint of God. They entreated him to heal the madman who had declared his arrival. Then German took him apart into the Sacristy, a place adjoining the Church, where the sacred vessels were kept and the clergy changed their vestments.[1] German there

[1] Ducange ad voc. Sacrarium.

released the afflicted man, and brought him back sound to the multitude who filled the Cathedral. This miracle was followed by others; many came to be cured of their diseases, and returned in health. Crowds flocked to receive his blessing and hear him preach.

CHAPTER XXV

ST. GERMAN AT RAVENNA

GERMAN soon left Milan, and proceeded towards Ravenna. He had not gone far when he was met by some beggars, who requested an alms. Having inquired of a Deacon who attended him how much there was in the bag, he was told, three pieces of gold. "Give them all," he said. The Deacon, surprised, asked what they themselves were to live upon. "God," said he, "will feed His own poor; do thou give what thou hast." The Deacon, to be prudent, gave away two pieces, and secretly reserved one. As they advanced in the direction of the river Po, they were overtaken by some men on horseback, who, dismounting and falling on their knees, informed him that their master, Leporius, a man in high authority,[1] who lived not far off, was ill with all his family of a fever; they entreated him to repair thither, or if this were impossible, to pray for Leporius at a distance. But German consented to go out of his way, and came to the residence of the nobleman, notwithstanding the objections urged by his attendants. The men who had desired his aid immediately offered the present of two hundred pieces of gold which had been sent by them. Then

[1] Vir spectabilis.

he turned to the Deacon and said: "Take this offering, and consider that thou hast defrauded God's own poor; for if thou hadst given to the beggars the three pieces as I charged thee, we should now have received three hundred pieces instead of two hundred." His companion blushed to think his secret actions should thus have been disclosed.

They then hastened to Leporius, who was highly pleased to see German. Upon entering, the latter fell down in prayer, and forthwith healed the nobleman and all his family. Then he visited the cottages in the neighbourhood where the epidemic raged, and cured every one. This miracle took place not far from Milan, at the village of Niguarda,[1] where a Church dedicated to St. German is said still to bear witness to his visit. This had necessarily caused considerable delay, and it was not before the third day that he was able to set out again, accompanied a short way by Leporius himself.

In the meantime fame had given notice of his progress at Ravenna, where he was expected with great anxiety. Like Sidonius Apollinaris, on a similar expedition nineteen years after, he would descend into the plains of the Po, following, however, the course of the yellow Lambro instead of the Tessin, to Placentia, a town he was afterwards to revisit under very different circumstances. Then embarking on the post-barges of the Po,[2] he would

[1] Bosch. not. ad locum Const.

[2] "Cursoriam sic navigio nomen." Sid. Apoll. Ep. v. lib. i. 'Celoces et holcadas, quibus excursum per alveum Padi faciebant." Cassiodorus apud Notas in Sid. Apoll. Sirmond.

pass by the conflux of the blue Adda, the swift Adige, the sluggish Mincio, which take their sources in the Ligurian and Euganean mountains; his eyes would be refreshed by the shades of the groves of oaks and maple trees which crown their banks, where the sweet concert of birds issued at the same time from the rushes and reeds of their bed, and the thickets and bushes which so closely line the way. He would, like Sidonius, pass under the walls of Cremona, and perhaps remember Virgil's verses; then behold at a little distance the scene of Otho's single act of heroism, the memorable town of Brixillum, and at last arrive by one of the many mouths of the Po in sight of Ravenna.

Ravenna, we are told, was not originally a Roman colony, but a municipal town,[1] to which the Romans granted the right of governing itself by its own laws, the privilege of having the same offices and dignities as the Roman people, and exemption from all kind of tribute. Here was the residence of the Prætor. The assemblies of the provinces were held in it, and a large fleet filled the fine harbour. Of late the Roman Emperors had been much attached to this town, which always remained faithful. Honorius and Valentinian III. had fixed their abode here, and built palaces. In subsequent times Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, made it the centre of his new kingdom; and till the middle of the eighth century Ravenna was considered the capital of Italy and the seat of government. The palace and sepulchre of Theodoric may still be

[1] See Not. in Sid. Ap. ed. Lyons, 1836.

seen.[1] "At Ravenna," says Sidonius,[2] "you might be perplexed to know whether the great imperial street which traverses it connects or separates the old city from the new harbour. Two branches of the Po circulate through the town and divide it. This river, which was drawn off from the principal stream by artificial means, has been divided into various channels, which flow round the walls of the city and defend it from external attack, and again penetrate into the interior for the advantage of commerce. Everything here is in favour of traffic; provisions are in abundance. Yet when the salt waters of the sea enter by the flood-gates on one side, and on the other the miry waters of the canals are agitated by the many boats which pass to and fro, and the mud is dug up by the poles of the sailors who steer their way: even in the middle of water we were thirsty; in truth, nowhere is the aqueduct itself quite limpid, nor the cistern without impurities; much less is there a fresh source or a clean well." This, of course, is in some measure a partial description of the majestic Ravenna; and a more complete idea may be obtained from Gibbon;[3] yet it well represents the great feature of the place, intersected as it was with canals, and surrounded by extensive marshes and the sea.

German had managed to arrive there by night, to avoid publicity; yet the people were on the look-out for him, and he did not enter unobserved. The chief men of the town came out to meet him, with

[1] Gibbon, tom. iv. p. 28. Knight's Eccles. Architect.
[2] Sid. Apoll. Epist. 5, b. i.
[3] Tom. iv. p. 27.

numbers of all rank and age. Among these was St. Peter, Archbishop of Ravenna, surnamed Chrysologus, from his eloquence, and well known in the Church. Of him it is that the following interesting anecdote has been preserved in the Breviary Service for his Festival, the 4th of December. "In his sermons addressed to the people, his language was often so energetic, that the vehemence of his exertions sometimes caused his voice to fail all at once. This happened on the occasion of his Discourse upon the Woman that had the issue of blood. The inhabitants of Ravenna, seeing the impediment which had suddenly come upon him, moved with sympathy, filled the place with such earnest lamentations and prayers to God, that afterwards he returned thanks to God that the injury which his voice and discourse had received had been turned to such a demonstration of love." The Roman Breviary has besides several Lessons, taken from his writings, for the Festivals of other Saints, as many are aware. Of him it was also said that he literally governed his Church according to the Apostolic precepts.[1] His life in the Episcopate was similar to that which he had led before his elevation; for he had been a monk. He was, moreover, in high favour with the Emperor and Empress. Six other Bishops were likewise in the suite of German, but their names are not given. It would require no great stretch of imagination to seek for the great St. Leo the Pope among them. He was a personal friend of St. Peter Chrysologus, and

[1] Constantius, § 70. Bolland. Tillemont, tom. xv. Ughellus, tom. ii. p. 332.

much in request at the Court of Ravenna, which he had often served in emergencies. But as Constantius is silent, it is more probable they were suffragan Bishops of St. Peter,[1] one of whom might be Cornelius, Bishop of Imola, an intimate friend of Chrysologus, to whose elevation he had been instrumental.[2]

As soon as German was known to have arrived, the Empress Placidia sent a valuable vessel of silver to him, filled with delicate provisions, without any mixture of flesh. Having accepted the present, he delivered the contents to his followers and his clerical attendants, and begged leave to sell the silver vessel for the sake of the poor. As a return to the Empress, he sent her a little wooden dish, containing some barley bread. Placidia was greatly pleased with the action of German, and received with deep reverence the humble platter and food of the Saint. Afterwards she caused the wooden dish to be chased in gold, and preserved the bread, which became afterwards the means of many miraculous cures.[3]

Galla Placidia was mother of the Emperor Valentinian III. and sister of the late Emperor Honorius. Three females were at this time at the head of the government in the Western and Eastern Empires. Pulcheria and Eudocia, the sister and wife of the young Theodosius, reigned supreme at Constantinople. Placidia, taught by a life of adventures and troubles, directed the affairs of the West. Her son

[1] There were ten suffragans of Ravenna.

[2] See Ughellus, tom. ii. p. 332, ed. 1647.

[3] So Tillemont renders the passage. Art. de St. Germain.

Valentinian had been on the throne since 425, that is, twenty-three years. Grandson of the great Theodosius, he did not prove that the talent which misses one generation returns in the next. "His long minority," says Gibbon, "was entrusted to the guardian care of a mother who might assert a female claim to the succession of the Western Empire—Placidia; but she could not equal the reputation and virtues of the wife and sister of Theodosius (the younger), the elegant genius of Eudocia, the wise and successful policy of Pulcheria. The mother of Valentinian was jealous of the power which she was incapable of exercising; she reigned twenty-five years in the name of her son; and the character of that unworthy Emperor gradually countenanced the suspicion that Placidia had enervated his youth by a dissolute education, and studiously diverted his attention from every manly and honourable pursuit." This portrait is here given chiefly as indicating a subject for candid inquiry, should a mind more congenial to Christian and Catholic development than that of Gibbon be turned to the study of the ambiguous characters of Placidia and Valentinian. Constantius, whose friend Sidonius Apollinaris was acquainted with the Court of Ravenna as well as any of his age, positively affirms that Placidia and Valentinian were both zealous for the Catholic faith, and though so high in the world, were ever known to lower themselves for the honour of God's servants. On the occasion we are now interested in, it is certain they were foremost in showing the greatest respect to German; nor could it be said that Ambrose,

when suing for a guilty province at the Court of Theodosius the Great, had met with more deference and considerateness than now was evinced by the grandson of that prince to the advocate of the Armoricans.

Some short time, it appears, elapsed before he found a favourable opportunity of laying the cause of this people before Valentinian. One day as he was walking in one of the broadest streets surrounded by a number of persons, he passed by the gates of the prison, then filled with many who had been doomed to die or suffer some severe penalty. Hearing that German was passing by, they all at once raised a loud cry. He inquired the cause, and called for the doorkeepers, who had concealed themselves, and learnt from them that the dissensions of the contending factions at court had occasioned a recent importation of these unhappy victims into the state prisons. Those who are acquainted with the history of this period will be able to understand how many acts of tyranny were then executed in the imperial name, though in fact they emanated from subordinate ministers and officers. When German saw that it was useless to seek for mercy elsewhere, he had recourse to that Divine aid which had so often been present with him. He advanced towards the prison and fell down in prayer. It was not long before its efficacy was manifested. The bars and bolts of the gates were suddenly loosened, and a number of prisoners came forth with their chains unfastened, which they held up to the view of the multitude. Prisons are made for the lawless, and for the protection of

justice and peace; in this case, says Constantius, law seemed to be justified in the violation of its securities. The released men then, together with German and the whole multitude, proceeded to the Church to return thanks.

The fame of his miracles daily spread; people came from all sides. The sick and infirm were healed. It seemed that the gift of Christ obtained more virtue as German was drawing to the close of his life. The seven Bishops before mentioned, among whom was St. Peter Chrysologus, hardly ever left his side. They were alike filled with astonishment at the incessant mortifications he practised and the wonderful miracles he performed. And their testimony, which is of the highest character, as Constantius expressly declares, is corroborative of the evidence for his miracles which are proved from so many other sources.[1]

There was a man about the court who acted as chief secretary to the Patrician Segisvultus.[2] He had a son that was dying of low fever. The physicians had given him over, and his parents were in the utmost affliction. At last they bethought themselves of seeking help from the Bishop of Auxerre. Their son could scarcely be said to live. They came with their relations and friends and humbly implored his assistance. The Bishops, his companions, joined in the request. He then hastened to visit the dying youth. While they were going, a messenger came to say that the son

[1] "Hi testes operum illius multis temporibus fuere."
[2] "Qui tum patritii Segisvulti cancellis præerat."

of Volusianus (for so the Secretary was called) was dead, and that there was no longer any need of troubling the holy man. The other Bishops, however, would not let him stop, but earnestly bid him perfect the work of mercy. They found the body lifeless; the heat of nature had gone, the corpse was cold as stone. They then offered up a prayer for the rest of his soul,[1] and were on the point of returning, when the bystanders began to weep and bewail bitterly. The Bishops then entreated him to pray the Lord in behalf of the bereaved parents, for the restoration of the youth. He hesitated long; if we except the uncertain miracle performed in the company of St. Anian, near Orleans, this was the first call upon his power for raising a dead man. Such a deed had scarcely been known in ecclesiastical history. However, we are told, his feelings of compassion and charity, combined with that confidence which so long a life of faith produced, urged him to make the trial. He removed the crowd, as when his Master had raised the daughter of Jairus; then, like Elijah and Elisha, he knelt down over the corpse. His tears fell in abundance, and he called instantly upon the name of Christ. In the meantime the dead youth began to move, and by degrees the limbs recovered their animation. The eyes sought the light, the fingers began to bend, the tongue to falter. Then German arose from prayer and raised up the youth, who, like Lazarus, might be said "to have slept but not unto death." He sat up, drew his breath, stretched himself, looked around. At last his whole strength

[1] "Depositaque pro animæ requie oratione."

returned. Great was the joy of his parents, loud were the acclamations of the people. The end of German was near at hand; this miracle was a kind of type of the glory which was soon to be given to him.

There was yet another about the court who had reason to be grateful to him. This was a pupil of the Eunuch Acholius,[1] who held the chief office of Chamberlain. He had brought up the young man with great care, and imbued him with a love for letters. An evil spirit however crushed his energies; every month at the moon's full he was seized with what is called the falling sickness, of which there is frequent mention in ancient history.[2] Cæsar, according to Plutarch, was subject to it; and there have been some who thought St. Paul was liable to it.[3] All the authority of the imperial household was used to obtain German's help. Accordingly, when he had examined the young man, contrary to his practice (for he was wont to expel the most furious spirits by simple imposition of hands), he deferred purifying him to another day. The malign influence had made the unfortunate young man a very receptacle, as it were, of Satan's operations. German desired he might be left alone with him for the night. In the same night the evil spirit came out of him, wallowing and confessing that it had dwelt in him since his earliest years. The young man thus restored to health soon returned to his station in the palace.

[1] Or Scolius. Bodl. MS. In this MS. here follows a story referred by Bosch. to Hericus's Works. It is also found in the Codex Chifflet., but in a different place. It is here omitted as unimportant and uncertain.

[2] "Caduca allisione prosternit." [3] Bishop Bull, Serm.

The time was come when he deemed it seasonable to explain the object of his journey. His negotiations with the Emperor and Empress proved successful; and he might have carried home their pardon to the Armoricans, with terms of peace. But while he was interceding for them, the news came that this restless people had again revolted. The efforts he had made were thus rendered void, and the Emperor was greatly irritated at their conduct. A learned and ingenious writer,[1] whose chronological views alone need here be suspected, conjectures with great probability that the reasons which might induce the Armoricans to thwart the negotiations of their deputy were such as the following. Aetius, the Patrician, their great enemy and dread, was at this time embarrassed with his war against the Franks, who, under their king Clodion, were then making an invasion into the north of Gaul, where they had taken possession of Cambray and Tournay. Secondly, the extreme misery of all who lived within the Roman dominion, except the nobles and chief men, and the continual reinforcements which daily desertions brought to the Armorican confederacy, would at the same time raise their expectations of success in rebellion, and make them still more averse to further connection with the Empire. Moreover, it appears there was a very general feeling abroad that the duration of the Roman power, as foretold by the ancient pagan oracles, was now about to expire. Lastly, the officers and auxiliaries appear to have

[1] L'Abbé Dubos, Etablissement de la Monarchie Française, tom. i. p. 393.

taken an unfair advantage of the suspension of arms, in order to form underhand a party within the Armorican republic, with a view to an easier conquest hereafter. Whether Eochar, with that inconsistency which is so frequent after sudden revivals of conscience, and that natural tendency of a Barbarian to gratify whatever impression was uppermost, violated his sacred engagements with German and gave fresh alarm to the Armoricans, we are not strictly informed. It might seem indeed that this latter people trifled with the character of their ambassador. But the case requires consideration. The pardon and favour of the Court of Ravenna, though the most easily obtained, was not after all the main point to be gained. When there are many degrees of authority, it is the nearest to themselves which men are most interested in conciliating. As long as Aetius and the Alani remained in their neighbourhood, the Armoricans would ever have to fear. It was also an impolitic measure, though the only one practicable, to apply to the Court of Ravenna instead of Aetius. However, the revolt of the nation was soon after followed by a severe chastisement at the hands of their enemies.[1] Still up to the great invasion of the Huns in 451, the Armoricans had not been entirely subdued, and continued to give no little anxiety to the vigilant Patrician. But when this scourge of God threatened Gaul, political animosities were laid aside, and all the inhabitants of the country united against Attila and his forces.[2] And now to return.

[1] Constantius. [2] Dubos, tom. i. p. 439–441.

CHAPTER XXVI

HIS DEATH

ONE morning after the celebration of mass (the expression belongs to the original) St. German was discoursing upon subjects of religion with the Bishops that waited on him. In the middle of the conversation he said to them: "I commend to you, beloved brethren, my death. Methought, during the sleep of the night, I received from our Lord the provisions for a journey; and when I asked the cause of this journey, 'Fear not,' He said, 'I send thee to thy proper country, to no foreign land; there thou shalt have eternal rest and peace.'" The Bishops then endeavoured to interpret the dream otherwise; but he continued to refer it to his death: "I well know what that country is which God promises to His servants." His foresight was not at fault. A few days after, on the 25th of July, 448, A.D., he was taken seriously ill. When he grew no better, but ever worse, the whole city was moved. It was clear death was now approaching with rapid strides, as if to spare him, who had died for thirty years to the world, the sufferings of a protracted departure. Among the numbers who came to pay their last respects to him while alive was the Empress Placidia. Putting

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aside the grandeur of her rank, she hastened to visit his bedside. She then promised to grant whatever he should ask. Upon one thing he laid great stress: his body was to be restored to his native country; nor was it a request which Placidia was inclined to accept. He was not however refused. In the meantime multitudes came to visit the dying Saint by night and by day. During the seven days of his sickness there was a choir at his bedside singing Psalms. On the seventh day, says Constantius, the 31st of July, the happy and blessed soul of German was carried up to heaven.[1] He had been Bishop thirty years and twenty-five days.

His inheritance was then divided. The chief claimants were the Emperor and the Empress, his mother, and the Bishops. His relics were esteemed worth all other riches, and each one endeavoured out of the little the Saint had to leave to obtain something. Placidia got the little box which enclosed the relics of the Apostles and Martyrs which German wore at his breast, and with which he had performed miracles. St. Peter Chrysologus took for himself the monk's hood,[2] with the hair-cloth which touched his skin.[3] The other Bishops, in order to obtain some small legacy, were content to tear the garments which remained; one took the overcoat,[4] another the belt; two divided the tunic, two others the coarse cloth [5] on which he lay.

[1] See ult. § Const. Bodl. MS. and Bolland. Robert, Monach. Chron. Ed. 1609, Trecis.

[2] Cuculla.

[3] Cum interiori cilicio.

[4] Pallium, not the pall apparently, as he was not Metropolitan.

[5] Sagulum vid. supra, p. 54, Not.

The magnificence of the funeral procession displayed the zeal of the court and city. All came forward to contribute. Acholius, the Eunuch of the royal chamber, whose pupil had been healed by German, presented costly spices to embalm his body. The Empress Placidia covered it with a rich dress, with the Eagle and the imperial arms designed upon it, in which silk, a very precious material at that time, was combined with fine embroidery,[1] and had it placed in a coffin of cypress wood; both which were long after preserved at Auxerre, and seen by Hericus. The Emperor paid the expenses of the translation to Gaul, and conferred a munificent largess upon the clerical and lay attendants of the departed Saint. The ceremonies in use for the translation of a corpse were then performed by the Bishops who had been with him in his last hours. At the head of these was the Archbishop of Ravenna, St. Peter Chrysologus. The Church has subjects of glory and exultation which seem singular to the world. Among them is the honour of burying Saints and attending their last hours. "To St. Peter," says the Breviary, "the honour was granted of burying two Saints who died at Ravenna, Barbatian the Presbyter, and German, Bishop of Auxerre, whose bodies he embalmed with costly ointments." After the preparations were concluded, messengers were sent before the funeral procession to prepare the due solemnities wherever he should pass.[2]

The procession then set off. Its splendour and

[1] Constantius et Hericus de Miraculis. Bosch. Comm.

[2] This phrase of Const. is thus explained by Hericus de Mir. § 27.

pomp were almost unequalled. A vast concourse of people followed. It arrived at Placentia by night. The coffin was deposited in the Cathedral, and a vigil instituted, during which religious offices were performed. Then a woman, an inhabitant of Placentia, who had a palsy, and had lost the use of her limbs, requested the permission to lie under the coffin; and in this position she remained till the return of day. Early the coffin was taken up, and the woman rose. She had recovered the soundness of her body, and to the amazement of all walked on with the rest of the people who followed the funeral march.

St. German, when he before passed through Vercelli, had given a promise to the Bishop of that town, probably St. Albinus, that he would on his return from Ravenna dedicate a new Church. When, therefore, says Hericus, the Bishop heard of his death, he proceeded to consecrate it himself. According to custom, he gave orders that the candles should be lighted. But it was in vain; the candles could not be lighted, the servants tried repeatedly without effect. This lasted for several days, and the Bishop was finally forced to desist. In the meantime news arrived that the procession was approaching. St. Albinus went out to meet it, and brought the coffin into the new Church. Scarcely had it entered when the whole Church in an instant lighted up. The Bishop perceived the signal for the dedication was now given, and he performed it. The name of this Church we are told is at present St. Eusebius.

And now the procession moved on again. The

natives of Gaul having heard of German's decease, flocked to meet the body of him whom they considered a patron Saint of their land.[1] At the passage of the Alps a large multitude were ready to escort him into Gaul.[2] Each one pressed forward to have the honour of bearing the coffin; and thus it was borne along by successive carriers, while the rest filled the air with hymns and exclamations of thanksgiving. The way was covered with memorials which attested the progress of the body. The ardour of the people facilitated the passage of the Alps.[3] Some were busied in levelling the roads, others filled the precipices, and restored the decayed bridges. Many brought offerings of money to defray the expenses. A great number of lights shone in the procession both by day and by night, challenging even the rays of the sun with their brightness.[4] Among those who came to meet the corpse was one Saturnus, a presbyter and disciple of German. He was noted for his sanctity, and lived in terms of great intimacy with his master. By his order he had remained at Auxerre, while German repaired to Ravenna. On the day in which the latter died, an angel is said to have revealed his decease to Saturnus. Upon which he imparted the sad intelligence to the inhabitants of Auxerre, who accompanied in great numbers to the foot of the Alps. An ancient inscription on marble, preserved at Auxerre in the time of Hericus, bore witness to this fact.

But perhaps the most touching circumstance of

[1] Const. § 76.
[2] Hericus, 31, 32.
[3] Const.
[4] Ibid.

the procession was the following. It will have been remarked that the corpse advanced but slowly, as it was borne on men's shoulders, and consequently a multitude of ardent persons were enabled to accompany from every town the escort for some distance. But the names of five females have been preserved who followed on foot the body the whole way from Ravenna. They were all virgins, and some, if not all, sisters. They were called St. Magnentia, St. Palladia, St. Camilla, St. Maxima, St. Porcaria.[1] The three first died, one after the other, before they reached the term of their pilgrimage. A solemn burial was performed for them at the high-road side, and Churches soon after were erected over their remains, and dedicated to them, where many miracles were performed. The two others endured the fatigue, and arrived at Auxerre to see the body of German interred. St. Maxima, one of these, was subsequently buried near the Church at Auxerre, where German lay. The remains of St. Porcaria, the other, were deposited nine miles from the town, and were famous for the miraculous cures which there took place. Till very late, we learn there was an ancient tomb existing,[2] in which the body of St. Magnentia, one of those who died on the road, had been laid, and upon which there was the representation of this holy virgin, dying in a bed surrounded by other virgins. And a monument which existed in 1567, in the monastery of St. German, according to the official statement of the then Bishop of Auxerre,

[1] Hericus de Mir. § 33.
[2] Bosch. Not. apud Bolland.

bore this inscription: "Here lies the body of the Lady St. Maxima, Virgin, who accompanied the body of St. German from Ravenna to this monastery, together with St. Palladia, St. Magnentia, St. Camilla, and St. Porcaria." From which it appears these holy virgins were persons of rank.

At last the body arrived at Auxerre. Fifty-three days, says Hericus,[1] had elapsed since German died at Ravenna. On the 22nd of September the procession entered the Church of St. Stephen, accompanied by the whole population of the town. Here was the episcopal throne. During ten successive days the corpse there lay exposed; religious offices were continued all the while. When all the rites preparatory to inhuming were completed, the coffin was committed to the sepulchre on the 1st of October, 448, A.D., in the presence of a multitude of strangers, as well as inhabitants of Auxerre, among whom, says Hericus, there were many Bishops and Priests from distant provinces—perhaps St. Lupus, St. Hilary, St. Severus, St. Anian, St. Eucher—the friends of the departed Saint. The place of the burial was not the Church of St. Stephen, where the Exposition had taken place, but an oratory or chapel, in one of those estates which he had given up to the Church when he parted with his patrimony and other possessions. This chapel was dedicated to St. Maurice, and German had appointed the Presbyter Saturnus, the same who came out to meet the procession, to perform the ecclesiastical duties in it. This place,

[1] § 34, § 37.

says Constantius, ever showed, by the miracles which were henceforth manifested there, that German in glory was still alive with his Church.

The 1st of October, the day of his Deposition, seems to have been, in primitive times, the principal Festival of the Saint,[1] especially in Gaul and Britain. The 31st of July[2] was next, if not quite equal, in the honour with which it was observed, and, in process of time, it has come to supersede the former, except at Auxerre, where these two Festivals, with four others in the course of the year, are still kept with great solemnities.

[1] Martyrol. Antissiod. 1751.
[2] See Bede, Martyrol. and Calend.

CHAPTER XXVII

HIS CANONISATION

THE history of St. German *alive* is thus resumed in four verses of Bede's Ephemeris, or Calendar :—[1]

> "Germanusque simul doctrina insignis et actu,
> Tum propriam munît meritis Antissiodorum,
> Qui Oceano fidei refugas et dogma nefandum
> Reppulit, et signis te picta Britannia texit."
>
> For deeds and doctrine German far renowned,
> Auxerre, his native city, raised on high,
> The Ocean crossed, to probe the faith unsound ;
> Then stemming proud Pelagius' impious lie,
> Anon the verdant plains of Britain fair,
> He covered o'er with signs and wonders rare.

The history of St. German *dead*—that is, of the effects which were owing to his presence in the spirit among the flock he had tended alive—would embrace a period of at least twelve centuries. Among the early testimonies which redound to his honour, that of the great Apostle of the Franks, St. Remy, must not be omitted.[2] About a century after, it is said, from the great veneration which he had for German of Auxerre, he erected a Church in tribute to him, where he destined his own remains

[1] Calend. Octob.
Martyr. Antiss. sub nom. Remigii.

to be deposited; and it became famous for the miracles there performed.

But still more honourable to our Saint, whose rank in the sacred Calendar is that of Confessor and Bishop (Pontificis), is the very ancient office called the Mass of St. German, which Cardinal Bona has published from an old manuscript, and which used to be celebrated, not long after German's death, annually on his Festival in Gaul. The uniformity of the Canon has, as yet, not been everywhere enforced, and Churches seem to have had the privilege of either adopting uses of their own, or of inserting sections and prayers into the most received form of Mass.[1] The following document seems to be a specimen of the latter :—[2]

MASS OF ST. GERMAN.

PREFACE.

Dearly beloved brethren, let us celebrate with ready devotion this august and sacred day, imploring humbly the mercy of our Lord, that we who cannot indeed equal the deeds may be enabled, at least, to follow the footsteps and imitate the Faith of the blessed Bishop and Confessor German, whose example we admire.

COLLECT.

We give Thee thanks, Almighty God, for the wonderful gifts (*virtutibus*) of the blessed

MISSA ST. GERMANI.

PRÆFATIO.

Venerabilem diem atque sublimem, Fratres carissimi, promptâ devotione celebremus, misericordiam Domini nostri suppliciter exorantes, ut Beatissimi Germani Antistitis et Confessoris sui, cujus exempla miramur, etsi æquari factis ejus non possumus, saltem vestigia sequi, et fidem nobis contingat imitari.

COLLECTIO.

Gratias tibi agimus Omnipotens Deus pro virtutibus Beatissimi Germani Antistitis

[1] Card. Bona. De Rebus Lit. 93. Ed. 4to.

[2] The titles are part of the document.

German, Thy Bishop, which Thou, Almighty Father, didst justly grant unto him, because he loved Thee, in his Apostolical profession, more than all things. He cast away riches from him, that by poverty of spirit he might ascend into the kingdom of heaven. He observed meekness, that he might through the spirit inherit the earth in the flesh. He was pleased to mourn in this world, that he might enjoy heavenly consolation from the abundance of Thy bounty. He hungered and thirsted after righteousness, that he might be filled with Thy word ; he was ever merciful (*or* he ever gave alms to the poor *eleemosynam jugiter fecit*), that he might continually obtain Thy mercy, not only for himself but for others also. Purity of heart he cultivated, that he might see Thee. He preserved the Faith, that he might be united with Thy children in brotherly communion. By whose intercession we pray.

(*Here two lines are erased.*)

tui, quas ei Pater omnipotens non immerito tribuisti, quia te Apostolicâ confessione rebus omnibus plus amavit ; discussit a se divitias, ut paupertate spiritûs cœlorum regna conscenderet : mansuetudinem tenuit, ut terram sui corporis spiritualiter possideret. Neque delectatus est in sæculo, ut cœlestem consolationem ex muneris tui largitate percipere t : justitiam esurivit atque sitivit, ut tuis saturaretur eloquiis : eleemosynam jugiter fecit, ut indesinenter non tantum sibi, sed et cæteris pietatis tuæ misericordiam obtineret : puritatem cordis habuit, ut te videret : fidem servavit, ut filiis tuis fraternâ se participatione conjungeret. Per cujus interventum precamur. . . .

(*Desunt hic duæ lineæ abrasæ.*)

After the Names.

Having heard the names of those who make their oblations, let us implore the long-suffering clemency of God, that these oblations of His people, which we offer up in honour of the Blessed Bishop and Con-

Post Nomina.

Auditis nominibus offerentium, indeficientem divinam clementiam deprecemur, ut has oblationes plebis, quas in honorem Beatissimi Germani Antistitis et Confessoris offerimus . . . (*deest aliquid*) Sig-

fessor German . . . (*something here wanting*) Let us celebrate this solemn and high day, with the unshaken liberty of that Faith which he defended with constant purpose, in order that the strength of his patience . . . (*Here also two lines are erased.*)

Let us also pray for the spirits of those that are dear to us, the number and names of whom the same Almighty God knoweth that He may be mindful of all, and remit the sins of all. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

natum diem hodiernæ solemnitatis celebremus cum inconcussâ fidei libertate, quam ille constanti mente defendit, ut robur patientiæ ejus . . . (*Desunt hic etiam duæ lineæ abrasæ.*)

Oremus etiam et pro spiritibus carorum nostrorum, quorum idem Omnipotens Deus et numerum novit et nomina, ut omnium memoriam faciat, omnium peccata dimittat. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

Collect at the Salutation of Peace, Pax Vobiscum.[1]

God, for whose sacred name Thy blessed Bishop, German, desired to endure persecution for righteousness' sake, insomuch that, though he did not suffer martyrdom, he yet reached forward to it by faith, and feared not to subject himself to the hatred and slanderings of men, so as he might obtain an abundant reward in heaven, and attain unto those great blessings of the Gospel; we pray Thee, by his intercession, to grant that peace to Thy Church henceforth for ever which he loved on earth, according to Thy command. Through our Lord.

Collectio ad Pacem.

Deus, pro cujus sacro nomine Beatus Germanus Antistes tuus desideravit persecutionem pati propter justitiam, ut etsi martyrium non perferret, fide tamen pertenderet: nec timeret odiis hominum et maledictionibus subjacere, dummodo mercedem copiosum consequeretur in cœlo, et ad illas beatudines Evangelicas perveniret; te per hujus interventum precamur, ut pacem quam te jubente dilexit in sæculo, perpetualiter Ecclesiæ possidendam tribuas in futuro. Per Dominum nostrum.

[1] See Ducange ad voc. Osculum. See also Bingham, xiii. 8. 13.

PREFACE TO THE CANON OF THE MASS.[1]

It is meet and right; it is very meet and right that we should give thanks unto Thee, and sing praises to Thy Fatherly kindness (*pietati tuæ*) in honour of Thy glorious Priest German, both Bishop and Confessor, and that we should offer up our petitions, and recount his great gifts, which Thou, O Lord, Father Almighty, justly didst grant unto him, because in his Apostolical profession he loved Thee more than all things, &c. (*The words are repeated from the first Collect, then is added.*) He loved Thee, O Lord, with all his heart, and with all his mind, and with all his soul, and he loved his neighbour as himself; that, as the whole law and the prophets hang upon these two precepts, he might attain unto those blessings of the Gospel which we have recounted. And whereas Thou, O Lord Jesus

CONTESTATIO MISSÆ.

Dignum et justum est; verè æquum et justum est nos tibi gratias agere, et pietati tuæ in honorem summi sacerdotis tui Germani Episcopi et Confessoris laudes canere, vota persolvere, ejusque enarrare virtutes, quas ei Domine Pater Omnipotens non immerito tribuisti, quia te Apostolicâ confessione rebus omnibus plus amavit, &c. (*Repetit ea quæ habentur suprà in prima Collecta, tum subdit.*) Dilexit te Domine ex toto corde, et ex totâ mente, et ex totâ animâ suâ, et proximum suum tamquam seipsum; ut secundum quod in his duobus mandatis universa lex et Prophetæ pendebant, ad eas quas diximus evangelicas beatitudines perveniret. Et quia tu, Domine Jesu Christe, Apostolis tuis dixeras, ut euntes per universum mundum universæ creaturæ evangelium predi-

[1] Contestatio, idem sonat quod Contestada; ita enim appellari *Præfationem*, seu Orationem quæ Canoni præmittitur, quâ disponitur Sacerdos et populus ad tremendorum mysteriorum confectionem, quod, ut est in Codice Thuano "Contestetur Sacerdos fidam ac veram professionem populi, id est gratias referre Deo dignum esse."

Canon Missæ, Oratio, quæ in Missa ante Consecrationem, et in ipsâ consecratione divinæ hostiæ recitatur à sacerdote, quæ ideo Canon vocatur, "quia in ea est legitima et regularis sacramentorum Confectio."

Christ, hast said unto Thy Apostles, to go all over the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature, and work miracles, these things Thy devoted servant Bishop German[1] . . . following their footsteps, through all Gaul, at Rome (Ravenna?), in Italy, and in Britain; and being afflicted in the body for thirty years . . . continually preached in Thy name, extirpated heresies, brought round the people to a full and perfect faith, cast out devils, raised the dead, restored to the sick their former health, and having obtained this great power, performed every other sign. He began and advanced. He fought and conquered. He fulfilled his course, and passed by the darkness of death to join the company of martyrs, having brought forth fruit an hundredfold, and having, after this life ended, gone to dwell in the kingdom of heaven. In this belief, O God, the Father Almighty, we beseech Thee humbly, that being commended to Thy Fatherly kindness by his patronage and intercessions in Thy presence, we may obtain in all things Thy mercy, praising Thee, and saying, in the words of Angelic praise, Holy, holy, holy.

carent, et virtutes efficerent, hæc tuus devotissimus Germanus Episcopus . . . eorum vestigia subsecutus per totas Gallias, Romæ, in Italia, in Britanniâ annis triginta corpore afflictus . . . jugiter in tuo nomine prædicavit, hæreses abstulit, adduxit populum ad plenam et integram fidem, ejecit dæmones, mortuos suscitavit, ægris reddidit pristinam sanitatem, implevitque omnia signa, virtutes utique adeptus. Sic cœpit ut cresceret. Sic pugnavit ut vinceret. Sic consummavit, ut mortis tenebras præteriret, Martyriis se conjungeret stola, cum centesimum fructum perceperit, et vitâ hac peractâ regnum inhabitârit æternum. Quod credentes Deus Pater Omnipotens supplices exoramus, ut in ejus apud te patrociniis et intercessionibus pietati tuæ commendati nos in omnibus tuam misericordiam consequamur, Angelicâ te exultatione laudantes et dicentes, Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.

[1] Supply "hath accomplished," the MS. being here erased.

COLLECT AFTER THE SANCTUS.

Blessed truly be He that cometh in the name of the Lord, Blessed be God, the king of Israel; peace on earth, and glory in the highest. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, who the day before He suffered . . .

COLLECTIO POST SANCTUS.

Benedictus planè qui venit in nomine Domini, benedictus Deus, Rex Israel, pax in terra, gloria in excelsis. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui pridie quam pateretur . . .

AFTER THE CONSECRATION.

Let Thy holy Word descend, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, upon these our oblations; let the Spirit of Thy inestimable glory descend; let the gift of Thy ancient long-suffering descend,[1] that our oblation may become an acceptable and spiritual sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour. May Thy mighty right hand also defend Thy servants, through the blood of Christ.

POST SECRETA.

Descendat, precamur Omnipotens Deus, super hæc quæ tibi offerimus, Verbum tuum sanctum: descendat inæstimabilis gloriæ tuæ Spiritus: descendat antiquæ indulgentiæ tuæ donum, ut fiat oblatio nostra hostia spiritalis in odorem suavitatis accepta. Etiam nos famulos tuos per sanguinem Christi tua manus dextera invicta custodiat.

BEFORE THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Acknowledge, O Lord, the words which Thou hast taught, pardon that presumption which Thou hast commanded. It is ignorance not to know our deserts, it is contumacy not to keep the command, whereby we are enjoined to say, Our Father, &c.

ANTE ORATIONEM DOMINICAM.

Agnosce Domine verba quæ præcepisti, ignosce præsumptioni quam imperâsti: ignorantia est non nosse meritum, contumacia est non servare mandatum, quo dicere jubemur, Pater noster, &c.

[1] Bona takes occasion here to observe, that this invocation after the Consecration contains nothing inconsistent with the Faith.

AFTER THE PRAYER.

Deliver us from all evil, O God, the Author of all good things, from all temptation, from all offence, from all work of darkness, and establish us in all good, and give peace in our days, O Author of peace and charity. Through our Lord.

(*The Blessing of the people is wanting.*)

COLLECT AFTER THE EUCHARIST.

We have taken from the sacred altar the body and blood of Christ, our Lord and our God . . . believing in the unity of the Blessed Trinity. We pray that always full of faith we may hunger and thirst after righteousness, and being strengthened by the grace of the meat of salvation, we may so do His work, that the sacrament which we have received may not be our condemnation, but our remedy. Through our Lord.

COLLECT AT THE END OF MASS.

O Lord Christ, who willest that the faithful should feed on Thy Body, and be made Thy Body, grant that what we have taken may be for the remission of our sins; and that the Divine nourishment given by Thy

POST ORATIONEM.

Libera nos a malis omnibus, auctor bonorum Deus, ab omni tentatione, ab omni scandalo, ab omni opere tenebrarum, et constitue nos in omni bono, et da pacem in diebus nostris, auctor pacis et charitatis. Per Dominum nostrum.

(*Benedictio populi deest.*)

COLLECTIO POST EUCHARISTIAM.

Sumpsimus ex sacris altaribus Christi Domini ac Dei nostri corpus et sanguinem . . . credentes unitatem beatæ Trinitatis. Oramus ut semper nobis fide plenis esurire detur ac sitire justitiam, sicque opus ejus, confortati salutaris escæ gratiâ, faciamus, ut non in judicium, sed in remedium, sacramentum quod accepimus, habeamus. Per Dominum nostrum.

COLLECTIO IN FINE MISSÆ.

Christe Domine, qui et tuo vesci corpore, et tuum corpus effici vis Fideles, fac nobis in remissionem peccatorum esse quod sumpsimus: atque ita se animæ nostræ divina alimonia per benedictionem

blessing may so be mingled with our soul, that the Flesh being subject unto the spirit, and brought into peaceful agreement, may be obedient, and not contend, through the Holy Spirit, who liveth and reigneth, in the unity of the Father and the Son, coeternal, for ever and ever. Amen.

tuam facta permisceat, ut caro spiritui subdita, et in consensum pacificum subjugata obtemperet, non repugnet, per Spiritum Sanctum qui in unitate Patris et Filii, coæternus vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

The solemnities for the Festival of St. German are described, according to Bona, in the Mozarabic Missal. A sermon preached by Hericus on that day, whether the 1st of October or the 31st of July, is still preserved. He there compares German to Elijah, especially in the matter of abstinence. Elijah, however, he observes, was fed by ravens, but St. German usually ate only once a week, and then barley-bread alone. He shows how he was a Doctor of the whole world, and had obtained a rank among the chief members of Christ's body; and how his great holiness procured him distinction in every country. He claims him especially for Gaul as her Apostle, and ends his sermon by a prayer addressed to St. German. This latter practice he had justified in a special work on the miracles of St. German.[1] He there blames those who say that the souls of the Saints are in Abraham's bosom, or in a place of refreshment, or under the Altar of God, and not able to be present at their tombs and wheresoever they please. He appeals to St. Jerome's language against Vigilantius. The Saints, he says, follow the Lamb wherever He

[1] § 124, ch. iii.

goeth, therefore they may be anywhere. As they enjoy the presence of God, who knoweth all things, they themselves know everything in nature, but they are especially present at their earthly remains. (It may here be remarked that St. Thomas Aquinas restricts their knowledge to what is going on in the earth.) And by way of proving his belief in this respect, he describes himself as falling down before the sepulchre, kissing the sacred stone, and humbly venerating his patron as if he were suspended over his head, and ever worshipping with fidelity the place where his feet had stood. In short, he bids men honour St. German and the rest of the Saints with pious devotion, and implore them with earnest affection.

St. German, we have seen, was buried in the chapel of St. Maurice. In process of time Queen Clothilde, the wife of Clovis, who was married in 493 and died in 543, built a large Basilica over the tomb of the Bishop;[1] on which occasion St. Lupus (different from St. Lupus of Troyes) came with her from Burgundy to Auxerre, and was subsequently buried there himself. Her eldest son, Clothaire, afterwards employed St. Desiderius, then Bishop of Auxerre, to build a beautiful *Freda* over St. German's remains, that is, a little covered chapel such as we see in cathedrals now. It was adorned with silver and gold, and bore the inscription of the royal builder. Ingundis, his wife, presented valuable vessels and vestments, especially a golden cup studded with precious stones, and bearing the name

[1] Heric. ch. iv. de Mir. § 39. Beaunier, Abbayes de France, tom. ii. p. 840. Gallia Christ.

of the Queen. This spot soon became famous for its miracles, according to Hericus.[1] Old men in his time asserted they had seen numberless cures performed on the sick, the possessed, the deaf and the dumb. The testimony of St. Nicetius in his letter to Queen Chlodosuinda, in 565, has already been given.[2] St. Gregory of Tours relates that, in the time of Queen Teudechild, Nonninus, a tribune, having come from Auvergne to Auxerre for religious motives, struck off a small piece of the stone from the tomb of St. German, whereupon he immediately became as stiff as brass.[3] Having considered the guilt of his presumption, he made a vow to consecrate the relic in a Church he intended to erect in honour of St. German in Auvergne. And after having made the vow, was released at once from the punishment. "Into this same Church which Nonninus erected at Mozac, in Auvergne," continues Gregory, "I myself went, in company with my uncle Avitus, Bishop of Auvergne, and on our entering a smell of roses and lilies exhaled from the place, which we attributed to the merits of the blessed German."

It would be long and tedious to enumerate the very many miracles which Hericus, who wrote in the ninth century, represents to have taken place either at Auxerre or in other places where St. German was particularly honoured. The following is selected, from many much more astonishing in their character and effects, chiefly because the narrator was witness to it himself. On the 31st of

[1] § 40. [2] See Introd.
[3] Ch. xli., Gloria Confessorum.

July,[1] he says, when Soissons and all its Churches and monasteries were resounding with the praises of the Saint, he (Hericus) proceeded with some others to one of the Churches dedicated to St. German. Before his arrival the bell began to ring of itself, and only ceased when he had entered. There was no vestige of any one, since all had previously departed from the Church; and he himself considered the ringing as miraculous; but, however, lest his testimony should be deemed partial, he made no mention of it himself, but let his companions spread the account. For the same reasons it would be unfair, in a historical point of view, to omit another miracle for which Hericus gives good testimony. In the year 869,[2] Adalricus of Sens, who had been afflicted with an infirmity and contraction of the limbs for twelve years, and had visited the tombs of many other Saints in vain, came to Auxerre for the festival of the 1st of October. A large multitude were assembled from all quarters. Already half of the vigil had elapsed, and the Psalm "Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion"[3] was being sung in the Church, when suddenly the voice of Adalricus filled the place and frightened the people and the choir, who were chanting the divine office. The people rushed towards him and found him senseless; after a short space of time he recovered, and regained his perfect strength, and was alive in Hericus's time to confirm the account of his cure.

In 859 took place the translation of St. German's

[1] § 67. [2] § 104. [3] Psalm lxiv. or lxv.

remains from the chapel of St. Maurice, and the Basilica, which Queen Clothilde had erected, to a more splendid edifice. The circumstances of it were these.[1] Conrad, or Chuonradas, was brother of Judith of Bavaria, the second wife of Louis-le-Débonnaire, and consequently was uncle to Charles-le-Chauve. He had married Adelais, the daughter of Louis-le-Débonnaire. Both were eminent for their piety. Conrad was, together with his other princely dignities, Commendatory Abbot of St. German's monastery at Auxerre. It was the sad custom of the age for powerful men to plunder ecclesiastical property, but there were some great exceptions.[2] Among these was Conrad. He had long been subject to a disease of the eye, which defied the art of medicine,[3] and he was about to undergo a caustic application, when having risen once before sunrise, he approached the sepulchre of St. German, where the monks were observing their vigil. The tomb happened to be covered with herbs; he applied some of them to his eye, and immediately recovered the use of it. As a present token of his gratitude, he offered up some golden bracelets to the shrine; but he contemplated greater proofs of it hereafter. He soon communicated to his wife his purpose of raising a more magnificent monument to St. German. Adelais eagerly entered into his views, and went to visit the actual monastery.[4] A favourable piece of ground was found, on the eastern side of the town, where the hill presents a gentle declivity, supposed to be well suited to an

[1] Hericus, B. ii. ch. i. § 84. [2] § 85. [3] § 86. [4] § 89.

edifice. The most experienced architects were engaged, and a model of wax was first made; which being approved, the greatest ardour was evinced in order to realise it. Some of the monks were sent to Arles and Marseilles to obtain the materials of the fine ruins which remained there. The spoils of paganism were thus destined to adorn a Christian monument. Having effected their object, they laid the precious charge on barges and sailed up the Rhone. As they journeyed, a violent storm came upon them, and they were obliged to land at a spot where they found a Church dedicated to St. German, and famous for the security which it was said to spread over the country. After they had prayed there for some time, they returned, and found the storm abated; they again embarked, and at last arrived safe at Auxerre. The columns and other materials and ornaments which they had brought proved to be all in character and in proportion with the building, a circumstance considered miraculous by Hericus. One of the columns, being placed upon its basis, was elevated by a number of hands, but all their efforts were unable to give it a right balance; and it was in the very act of falling, and all had withdrawn to avoid the danger, when suddenly it rose again and placed itself without help in its right position.

It appears Conrad did not live to see the remains of St. German translated to the new building. In 859, Lewis of Germany, the brother of Charles-le-Chauve, taking advantage of a faction in France, made war upon Charles, in spite of the league

which had been made at Verdun in 843, respecting the division of Charlemagne's empire between his three grandsons, Lothaire, Lewis, and Charles. Charles-le-Chauve, conscious of the inequality of his forces, resolved to seek aid from God; and as he was on his way to meet the army of his brother, he passed by Auxerre. It was the day of the Epiphany, when, accompanied by Bishops and Priests alone, he approached the tomb of St. German, and had it opened. The corpse appeared in perfect preservation. Charles having performed his devotions, the Bishops were enjoined to cover the body with costly garments, and pour balm and incense over it. After which the translation took place to the edifice raised by Conrad. Proceeding thence, the king obtained a complete victory over his brother without loss of blood, and henceforth reigned in peace. Miracles were performed during this translation. A young man, who was a cripple, obtained his recovery while in the act of praying in the Church in the presence of the whole people, and we may add in that of Hericus himself, our authority, since he was monk of St. German's at that time. Another on the same occasion regained the use of his speech. From this time, the 6th of January, besides the solemnities of the Epiphany, was celebrated with an express commemoration of St. German's translation; to which purpose the Martyrology of Auxerre for that day has the following notice: "At Auxerre the translation of the body of St. German the Bishop from the sepulchre to the new crypt was performed by the Bishop of Auxerre, Abbo, in the presence and at the request

of Charles-le-Chauve, king of the French." It appears then that the edifice which Conrad built was annexed to the original Chapel of St. Maurice, and to the Monastery of St. German [1] (not the same as that which he in his life had founded), and that the translation was but a short distance. This monastery would therefore have been a large enclosure with several edifices contained in it, as we see in the vestiges of some old and famous abbeys.

Within the precincts there were many places of worship,[2] and as many altars in honour of Saints; for the remains of many other Saints were soon conveyed to this sacred spot. Those of St. Urban and Tiburtius were brought from Rome in 862, as a gift of Pope Nicolas the First.[3] There were also the relics of the saintly Bishops who had governed the Church of Auxerre, among whom were St. Peregrinus, the first Bishop, and his successors.[4] On the right hand were St. Urban and St. Innocent. Next to them St. Alodius, the successor of St. German, St. Ursus, St. Romanus, St. Theodosius, Bishops of Auxerre. Near the Pedum (or Crosier), to the east, beside the altar, was St. Aunarius, Bishop of Auxerre. To the left was St. Tiburtius, sent from Rome, with five Bishops, Fraternus, Censurius, the friend of Constantius the writer, Gregorius, Desiderius, and Lupus, the latter of whom had come from Burgundy, as we have seen, in company with Clothilde, the wife of Clovis. Together with these were St. Moderatus, a boy, St. Optatus, Bishop, and two priests, St. Sanctinus and

[1] Bosch. Com.
[2] Orationum loca, § 123. Heric. [3] § 108. [4] § 117.

St. Memorius.[1] In process of time many other sacred remains were there deposited, among which were those of a Pope. Lothaire, the son of Charles-le-Chauve, on his deathbed gave orders that a light might be always kept burning before the shrine.

When the Normans in the ninth century made a violent irruption, the remains of St. German were carefully buried, according to Nevelo, a contemporary author, and remained thus till the beginning of the tenth century. Such was the reverence in which they continued to be held, that when Robert, king of France, in the succeeding age called a council at Auxerre, and the relics of other Saints according to custom were brought to it, Hugo, the Bishop, refused to send those of St. German, urging that they were too valuable. In great calamities, however, they were carried about. In the time of William the Conqueror, one of the fingers was amputated by a monk of Auxerre, and carried into England, where it became the occasion of the foundation of the celebrated Monastery of St. German at Selby, in Yorkshire, the noble abbey of which still exists. The circumstances of it are curious as illustrating the origin of a monastic establishment, but are too numerous for the present purpose. In 1375, John, Duke of Berry, assigned a yearly sum of gold for the preservation of the coffin. At last in 1567, on the 27th of September, the Huguenots took Auxerre. All are agreed that the remains of St. German on this fatal occasion were violated, but the manner is not quite certain. Le Beuf, a

[1] See Beaunier, Abbayes de France. Bosch. Com.

canon of Paris, in his history of the sacrilege, says that the Huguenots on entering sent immediately a detachment to the monastery of St. German before the monks had time to carry anything away, and that the whole wealth of this opulent establishment fell into their hands. St. German's tomb, with six others, he adds, was broken up, and the sacred remains torn from their receptacles and trampled upon. In this confusion it does not appear what was rescued; but the prevalent opinion at Auxerre in 1663, when Viola, the Prior of that institution, wrote his life of St. German, was, that the Huguenots themselves under Divine impulse restored the relics. Other accounts more or less probable were current. But it is pretty certain that when the Bollandists published their Acts of St. German, there were still existing at Auxerre a piece of the silk dress with the imperial arms which Placidia had given; a bone of one of the fingers; the sepulchre of stone; the ashes of the Saint; and the fragments of the cypress coffin, the gift of the same Empress. These were probably concealed from the Huguenots under earth. They were officially declared to be the relics of St. German by Séguier the Bishop, and are said to have effected miracles.

At Paris in the Church St. Germain l'Auxerrois, famous for its historical connections, there was before the Revolution a bone in a silver case belonging to the Saint. At Verdun, Miége, and Montfaucon there were likewise some bones; at Evreux a part of the skull; at Chessy some of the ribs. Pope Urban V., once abbot of St. German's, ob-

tained a bone. The following places, Lembrun, St. Julien d'Auxerre, St. Remi at Rheims, St. Pierre at Corbi, St. Pierre in Champagne, Rennes, St. Stephen at Auxerre, Cahors, Coutances, Gron near Sens, Metz, Nancy, Bayeux, Caen, Cluni, Cologne, and a place on the banks of the Meuse, called Rutilensis Carthusia, in the Latin—all produced claims of a similar kind. Whether any relics in France have been preserved from the revolutionary profanations is still to be learnt. Whether any survive the Reformation and the Rebellion in England, at St. Albans, St. Germans in Cornwall, or Selby in Yorkshire, need hardly be inquired.

CHAPTER XXVIII

CONCLUSION

READERS are now very capricious people. In many cases they will not let the writer suggest a moral observation upon the facts he has related to them; they are disgusted if he do, and say it is unreal, or it is commonplace, or it is tedious, and the like. And yet, in many others, they are very glad to find that the author agrees with them; and it greatly tends to recommend a book if one be so fortunate as to touch upon the right string; and a sentiment or an opinion here and there which approves itself will make many a dull book pass off for good. In the Middle Ages writers would altogether have discarded these and similar niceties, and said just as much as they themselves thought right, neither more nor less. But at present the matter is very different. There are plenty of persons who read, but few who read what does not please them, and moral and general reflections usually come under this category. In the Middle Ages, again, authors were as different as readers. Writing was a kind of sacred employment. Those who wrote books were acknowledged by all to be deeply conversant with their subject. Now men write in order to become conversant with it. Of course persons who are

considered fit to make books are generally those who, besides acquaintance with a subject, have natural capacities for the task. Yet this was not a necessary or invariable consequence in the Middle Ages. Histories, for instance, were written by men who had been present at the facts related. It was a secondary consideration whether they were fit persons to judge of facts. Or again, they were written by men who were known to be familiar with the tradition or the inheritance of facts which passed on religiously from one generation to another. It did not follow, as a matter of course, that they were good critics, or had imagination enough to understand past ages; although in reality they did, in the majority of cases, possess these endowments. From this cause, in a great measure, seems to have arisen that profound re spect in which books were held. We hear of even secular books, ornamented in the most costly style, with shining clasps to keep out the dust, and appropriate desks to expose them to the view of all. Writing, as was before said, was a sacred avocation. It was the privilege of the Religious in their holy seclusion: "Read, write, and sing," says the author of the Imitation. It was sanctified by the devout exercises of the monks, and guarded from profane novelties by the attentive vigilance of the Superior. Natural abilities came into play here as elsewhere, but they were directed and applied wisely. Guibert de Nogent, in the eleventh century, is an instance of this. He was by nature very quick, and ready at writing verses. When the Superior of his monastery perceived his turn of mind, he bid him be on

his guard against a bad use of his talents. Guibert was then obliged to write in secret, for he felt he did not apply them to the honour of God; and subsequently this gave him violent pangs of conscience, and brought from him a most humble confession of guilt. Yet his abilities were not allowed to remain dormant. At a fit time he was appointed by his Abbot to compose a theological work for the instruction and edification of Christians.[1] Other occasions also there were of writing. Men came back from the Crusades: they were the proper persons to write about the Crusades. Or again, others had been the intimate friends of great men: these were the best qualified to compose their Life and make known their private sayings. At present subjects of this kind are put into the hands of a good editor. But then, it was the wise statesman and minister, who had been at all the privy councils of his sovereign; or it was the bosom friend of a Saint, who knew his inward life. It mattered little whether he was an ingenious, clever thinker, and could illustrate a plausible theory or a favourite principle. His work was precious from the circumstances of its composition. Contrary to the rule of Aristotle, it was the morality or qualifications of the writer, not of the composition, which constituted its claims to the regard of the public. Men were far too matter-of-fact and simple-minded to take up the tests and canons of literary etiquette.

However, notwithstanding such great disadvan-

[1] Vid. Vita Guib. Noving. b. i. chap. xvii.

tages arising from the present disposition of both writers and readers (be content, gentle reader, to bear part of the blame), something like an attempt shall be hazarded at giving a practical turn to the variety of materials which have come before us in St. German's Life. And to avoid further preliminaries.

I. What are we to think of St. Mamertinus's wonderful story, as related in Chapter VIII.? That he was a Pagan, and lost the use of his sight and hand, and was induced by one Sabinus to go to Auxerre to seek for St. German, and came at night into the Mons Autricus, the Cemetery, and there fell asleep on the tomb and in the cell of a departed Saint—this is plain enough, and indisputable. But what was that which followed? Was it a real thing, or was it a vision? And here the subject becomes serious, and we must "put off our shoes from our feet, for the place where we stand is holy ground." For what, indeed, do we mean when we draw a distinction between realities and visions? Is it untrue to say that everything is real, that everything is the action of Almighty God upon His creation, and especially upon His spiritual creation, if such distinction may be made? God works by instruments, or what we view as instruments; He makes the things of the external world—objects, times, circumstances, events, associations—to impress the action of His Will upon men. The bad and the good receive the same impressions, but their judgment concerning them differs. The moral sight of the one is vitiated, that of the others indefinitely pure. If, then, the only real thing to us be

the communication of the Divine Mind to our mind, is there room to inquire whether the occasion or medium of that communication is real? At least it would appear that St. Mamertinus considered the inquiry superfluous. The very obscurity which impends over his narrative, and which has purposely been preserved in this Life, may, for aught we know, be owing to the impossibility of drawing any material distinctions between what are called real events and visions or dreams. For it must be remembered that Constantius introduces the very language of St. Mamertinus into his Life of St. German. It was a book which apparently had but recently come out, in which St. Mamertinus published to the world the history of his own mysterious conversion. And Constantius seems to have a scruple in taking any liberties with it, and consequently inserts it, as it was, into his own work. Now it is certainly remarkable that the subject himself of so wonderful an occurrence should hesitate whether he ought to call it a reality or a vision, sometimes adapting his phraseology to the one aspect of the matter, sometimes to the other. Yet what is this but what had four hundred years before been exemplified and sanctioned by Inspiration itself? In the history of Cornelius's conversion, himself a Gentile, the same ambiguity is apparent. In the very beginning, how singular, if we may so speak, the words, "He saw a vision *evidently*." Here, however, the apparition of the angel is clearly called a vision. Yet, when the messengers of Cornelius came to St. Peter, they said nothing about a vision, but "Cornelius, the centurion, was warned

from God by an holy angel." Nay, Cornelius himself, when Peter came to him, spoke as if it had been no vision. "Four days ago I was fasting until this hour; and at the ninth hour I prayed in my house, and *behold, a man stood before me and said.*" Was this not, at once, both a vision and a reality? Could God's purposes be more distinctly revealed? In like manner, the whole of what happened to Mamertinus had but one end, one object, the imparting of Almighty God's gracious mercies to a lost and sinful creature. Life itself is as much a vision as anything in sleep; it is the moving to and fro of ever flitting images; there is one, and one only, substantial fact in life, the existence of created beings in the presence of their Omnipotent Maker. And such, apparently, was the ultimate aspect in which St. Mamertinus came to view his conversion, ever less complex, more simple, more one, as he advanced in holiness, "without which no man will see the Lord." He most probably lived till 468, about fifteen years before Constantius began to write his Life, and would therefore be at that time an old man, one who had fought the good fight. For he was a young man when St. German was above forty, and apparently outlived him as long as twenty years, having become abbot of the monastery only at a late period. But so it is; Almighty God has never been seen, and yet is always seen. Everything around us is a symbol of His presence. Does not the sublime author of the City of God speak after this wise? "Be not surprised," he says, "if God, though He be invisible, is said to have appeared *visibly* to the Fathers. For as the sound

which conveys the thought that dwells in the silence of the mind is not one and the same thing with it, so that form in which God is seen, who yet dwells in the invisible, was not one with Him. Nevertheless, He was visible in this same bodily form, just as thought is audible in the sound of the voice; and the Fathers knew that *they saw an invisible God* in that bodily form, which yet was not He. For Moses spake unto Him who also spake, and yet he said unto Him, 'If I have found grace in Thy sight, show me now Thyself, that I may see Thee with knowledge.'"[1]

To conform, however, to the ordinary modes of speech (and we cannot but do so as long as things appear multiple, instead of simple), it is conceived that what occurred while St. Mamertinus was in the cell of St. Corcodemus was what we call a vision. St. Florentinus in white and shining garments at the entrance of the cell; St. Corcodemus issuing from the tomb and joining his ancient companions; the beautiful dialogue concerning the penitent Pagan; the five holy Bishops celebrating their Votive Mass in the Church; the discourse between the Apostle St. Peregrine and Mamertinus; and the subsequent antiphonal strains issuing from the Church—all was part of the vision. But the vision was so clear; its effects and fulfilment were so complete, that it had nothing, as it were, to distinguish it from a real event, except that it occurred in sleep. Dreams and visions have ever held a prominent part in God's marvellous

[1] Exod. xxxiii. 13. Lib. x. ch. xiii. Cis. Dei.

dispensations. The form is a dream, the substance a reality. We cannot bear the reality without the form. "Now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as I am known."[1] A notion attaches to dreams and visions which we think we can cast off; they do not hang by us with the vividness of real events. They have a meaning; yet they admit of being otherwise viewed. This is our infirmity, but it is wisely ordained, for we are men.

St. Mamertinus affords a striking fulfilment of the prophecy, "In the last days, saith God, I will pour out My spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams."[2] In proportion, then, as the clearness with which God communicates with His creatures diminishes, may we not infer that there is on their part a corresponding withdrawing from His presence? When the phenomena of the external world usurp more and more of the faith and confidence of men, and are no longer viewed as mere instruments and media, but rather as self-existing substances, is this not a sign that men are daily retiring further from the influence of that blessed Spirit which was poured upon all flesh? On the other hand, what an unearthly character must have been stamped upon the life of St. Mamertinus! To have been brought into the presence of the unseen world, what a range of heavenly recollections, what

[1] 1 Cor. xiii. 12. [2] Acts ii. 17.

a sacramental glow over his whole future life! But let us proceed.

II. No one will say that St. German was not a holy man of the highest order. It demands no proof but the mere narrative of facts. There is not a circumstance of his life, since his conversion, which requires explanation or apology (unless it be the deposition of Chelidonius, his connection with which is extremely obscure and uncertain). The question is rather, how did he become thus holy, thus great, and in so short a time? How is it that the sanctity of so many ancient Saints was so easy, natural, even, uniform, marked, unflinching, unmingled, resolute? We think we are reading of angels; where is the man? In the case of St. German we have before had occasion to remark that a progression, at least in gifts, powers, and confidence, is apparent; that a change, by no means indefinite, seems to have taken place after the lapse of twelve years and the completion of his Apostolic work. But the mystery remains nearly the same. How, from the beginning, did he live, as we read he did? Men of old had like passions with ourselves; we cannot doubt it; how then did they become suddenly Saints? We hear, indeed, of groans of penitence, and fasts, and vigils, and prayers; but how do these also come all at once? To those who would be Saints now, not only everything without is opposed, but their very selves are at war with them; and not the least feature of this opposition is the ignorance and confusion which they have concerning the whole matter of saintliness and the righteousness required of the Gospel.

But in ancient times the old man seems to have been put off like a garment, altogether, and without remnant; the new man, like a bright robe without a patch, without a stain, taken up in its place. Surely history must be false here, if anywhere; or rather, partial and incomplete. It may be good for us that it should be so, as an exercise of our faith. But it is also right that meditation should try to recover the lost side of the picture; and its recoveries may be brought out to the view of others, not as superseding the same exercise of faith in them (for no subsequent labours, bestowed upon a distant period, can supply the evidence which contemporary testimony has denied), but as affording materials for their reflections and testing the spirituality of their discernment. History then, the biographies of Saints included, is a structure that has been built up according to rules of its own, and these rules have ever been imperfect. Effect, so to say, and appearance have been its leading principles, principles not necessarily erroneous; nay, in the common run, the guide of life and the foundation of society. But principles which are guides for men may be indefinitely imperfect, because men are imperfect; and in the training for the life of angels, we require something more than their defective canon, an ever nearer approach to those laws which are to be our guide in that heavenly society which we hope to join. Now history has had the same yearnings, the same ideal; but history has applied it to this world, which can never be what heaven is. Repose is the ideal of beauty. Accordingly, history has invested the

Saints on earth with all the attributes of repose; and as qualities in themselves are one thing and not another, white is white, black is black, the Church militant has been represented in the same uniform character of repose with the Church triumphant from beginning to end. It has been thought that the pure white could not come out itself from the antecedent admixture of discordant colours; it could be no abstraction, no extract from opposite natures; it must have been ever there whole and perfect, or nowhere at all. In this manner many, very many, of the old Saints stand out like beautiful statues, serene, unruffled, sublime, ethereal, unearthly; and such they were in truth, but not this alone. The character of St. German subsequent to his conversion is an example of these historical types, one of those radiant faultless pictures which line the long galleries of the vestibule of heaven, the Church on earth.

Now that there is another side of the picture, and that it is not without its profit to beholders, seems to be shown by those instances where Saints have been the relaters of their own lives. Doubtless, Possidius' Life of St. Augustine does not read like St. Augustine's own Confessions. The value then of this last work is this, that it discloses the probation of the Saint. We have in the case of St. German all that was external, all that was intended to carry on the type of sanctity from generation to generation, but we must look beyond testimony for the history of his probation, or his struggle with "the rulers of the darkness of this world." On the other hand, in the Confessions, we seem to

discover all the wonderful threads which go to make up the tissue of the Saints' white robe; we find some going one way, some another, some again crossing each other, and yet all kept together by the broad hem which encircles them, and in the end making up in discordant ways the one spotless garment. Some light may perhaps be thrown upon St. German's inward life by comparing it with this marvellous book. But first let us ascertain somewhat more clearly the ground on which we are to stand.

It is fully admitted that there is something evidently extraordinary and miraculous in St. German's conversion and subsequent life. But this alone does not seem a sufficient account of the matter. All grace is extraordinary and miraculous, and yet we may still inquire about the *how* or the way on the part of man. Man is a free agent, though the measures of God's grace may vary ever so much. Through grace, doubtless, St. German reached those heights of holiness which we view with awe and wonder; but grace is given to perform a work, and where is this work? Grace is given to conquer nature, where is the conquest? This is all that is asked. Effects require predisposing causes. Allow for argument sake that one and all follow by unavoidable necessity, yet the history of them remains the same; if we read of the one, we may inquire about the other. Nor is there anything to show that the notion of miracles implies the exclusion of other causes and means; for though as regards the irrational world, it might not appear absurd to suppose an effect produced

without any other cause but the miracle itself; yet in the case of rational and responsible beings to suppose the end for which their reason and responsibility were given, to be attained without the means of these, involves an obvious inconsistency. And here Butler has a far-searching saying which seems to suit the present purpose. "Nor do we know," he says, "how far it is possible in the nature of things that effects should be wrought in us at once, equivalent to habits, *i.e.* what is wrought by use and exercise."[1] The possession of moral habits, under which denomination Christian virtues and holiness are to be placed, however connected with and dependent upon the miracle of God's grace, is yet not like the possession of those miraculous gifts which were bestowed in the beginning of Christianity, of which men had the power of making a bad or a good use as they chose. Holiness is a habit and an act. A habit or an act is not a faculty or a power. It is in the nature of the latter to be applied to contraries, but the other is one energy definite and exclusive. For indeed holiness is in energy, not in virtue; or if in some sense it may be said to be virtual, it is so in one way, not in contrary ways; that is, in leading on to further holiness, or, as the Psalmist says, going on from strength to strength. Holiness cannot therefore be a gift of God independent of man's exertions and consent; if it be an energy of man, it must work through him and with him, for it is an effect, not an instrument; and the very

[1] Anal. p. 87.

essence of it is that it is an effect of human agency. And here again we may compare another passage of the same writer, though applied by him to another subject. "It appears from Scripture," he says, "that as it was not unusual for persons, upon their conversion to Christianity, to be endued with miraculous gifts, so some of those persons exercised these gifts in a strangely irregular and disorderly manner (which could not be said with regard to holiness or other habits). . . . Consider a person endued with any of these gifts; for instance that of tongues: it is to be supposed that he had the same power over this miraculous gift as he would have had over it had it been the effect of habit, of study and use, as it ordinarily is (and here the effect of habit will not be confounded with the habit itself, the effect of habit being viewed as an instrument merely), or the same power over it as he had over any other natural endowment. Consequently he would use it in the same manner he did any other, either regularly and upon proper occasions only or irregularly and upon improper ones, according to his sense of decency and his character of prudence."[1] It may be added that holiness in the beginning was indeed, though not properly a faculty or instrument, an endowment like any other; but man having fallen, a distinction naturally arose between what came from God alone and what man contributed, for man was no longer the creature of God as it came out of His hands; something

[1] Anal. p. 182.

foreign to God, if one may so speak, a negative nature had attached itself to his original nature. There was henceforth a self, a will, a spontaneity; holiness was now to be a recovery and an act, not a mere gift or a necessary condition.

If the case stand thus, let us endeavour to apply it to St. German. The first thing that astonishes us in his conversion is that he was taken by surprise. He has been irritated by the bold conduct of Bishop Amator; he proceeds to Auxerre to take vengeance upon him; he learns that he has set off to Autun; he awaits his return; he hears him resign his episcopal office—he is perhaps not over sorry; he goes to see the end of the matter in Church and join in the general election of a successor. Suddenly he is surrounded with priests, stripped of his secular robes, clad in a clerical dress, deprived of his hair, and nominated to the Bishopric of Auxerre. Now we will not stop to inquire whether this violent behaviour of St. German involved a habitual contempt of religion, though we may rather infer the contrary. We will not make conjectures about the influence which the vicinity of holiness, a virtuous education, the high outward estimation in which religion was held, a character naturally aspiring and elevated, and the effects of a diffused literature pregnant with Christian verities and solemn warnings may have had upon the mind of the Duke and Governor of the Armorican and Nervican provinces; although we might make many inductions from the habits of thoughtfulness and the sense of responsibility which an office so full of high and accountable

functions was calculated to produce; the enforcement of duty and discipline on others, the necessity of example in self, the probability that an exalted statesman is on the whole upright and religious when no impeachment against his character in these respects is on record;—all this we must leave as we find it. Certain it is that the immediate preliminaries of his ordination and nomination were anything but adequate to the character we afterwards find him sustaining, and that there was an evident abruptness and harshness in this remarkable transaction of his life. But two months elapsed before he was consecrated Bishop of Auxerre; and it is expressly declared, that during that time he used every endeavour and means in his power to escape from the new charge that was imposed upon him. Is there not here some clue to that inward struggle which forms the secret history of Saints? Is there not here a shadow of that side of the picture of the Saint which we were seeking? Let us dwell on these two months. The internal struggle must have lasted through life (for it did so in St. Anthony), but it is something gained to get an insight into these two months.

What are two months? Fifty-six or sixty days. But sixteen or twenty days may well have been filled up with the business and tumult of election, the resignation of a civil appointment (a letter to Autun or Arles might well have been answered in a week or ten days), the preparations for consecration, and the reception of the three Bishops who were to consecrate him. Forty days remain, and

forty days previous to a ministry! This seems to open a new view of the subject. Time is a mysterious thing, concerning which we have but very dim conceptions. Some have thought it to be the mere indispensable mode in which all our thoughts are conceived. At least, that it is measured by the succession of our ideas seems clear enough. And if so, there is nothing to prevent a year being compressed into an hour. The year of one rational being may be the hour of another; nay, a year may, to the same individual, be less than an hour under different circumstances. It is almost proverbial, that every year the years seem to roll round faster; which so happens, not perhaps because the younger we are the more ideas we have, whereby the year seems to be more full of incidents; but rather the contrary, because the relations of ideas which are presented to the mind as it grows older become so numerous that they successively drive each other away, and a less definite impression, on the whole, is left than when we were young, and ideas from being few were more indelible. How much may pass in the mind during forty days! What various and countless thoughts may have arisen in the seclusion of one Lent! How the memory has at times been so vividly awakened as to partake of the nature of actual representation! How the future has been measured out by anticipation, with almost prophetic reality! How the multiplicity of things has wonderfully been conjured up before the sight of the mind by a glimpse of the one, the primary form of all things, the Law of the Divine Wisdom and Knowledge, Unity! But forty

days have a still more sacred association. It was the period of our Divine Master's Temptation—shall we say Probation? Yes, for though He could not sin, yet He took upon Him our flesh, to endure the like trials with us, though ever without guilt.[1] And, if the thought may be expressed with the deepest awe and reverence, what a range of things were within that short space presented to Him in the form of Temptations! The world itself came before His eyes, all its glories, its proud kings, its opulent cities, its conquering armies, its ambitious fleets, its philosophers and their systems! And behold here the three great trials to which human nature is subject at once brought together: the desires of the flesh, the ambition of the mind, the pride of the heart; the first when bread was the occasion, the second when the world was the end, the last when self was the centre: "If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down." It might be profane to introduce such a subject as this were He not the example of all Saints, and were it possible to speak of holiness and supernatural gifts without instancing Him. Nay, the more holy men have been (and no doubt St. German yielded to none in this respect), the more reason we have for presuming that they were brought within the like vicinity of Satan's devices. The more grace abounded in St. German the more sure we may be that he began not his ministry without contending with the powers of darkness. It was immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost on the baptized

[1] "Ut esset in similitudine carnis peccati pœna sine culpâ."—Aug. De Peccatorum Meritis, Lib. i. §. 60.

Son of man that He was led away into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil. Now we are expressly told, that after St. German's wonderful ordination, it was with great difficulty he could bring himself to accept the charge of Bishop to which he was elected.[1] Nothing, as it appears, but absolute force made him consent at last to be consecrated; the people, the clergy, the nobility, all were against him. What then must have passed in his mind during the suspense! Let us consider what it requires to make up our minds to be faithful servants of God. Some, indeed, take a rapid glance of the capabilities of the future; others are slow in imagining the difficulties they will have to encounter. Some, by a marvellous penetration (and this was one of St. German's gifts), see at once the course they will have to pursue; others have enough to do to prepare for immediate struggles. But for all there are countless things in prospect to meet, there are as many in the retrospect to forego and to undo; and men will sleep rather for sorrow before they come fully to realise the scene before them. We are not, however, quite at a loss for historical information to conceive what might be the struggles of Saints even after conversion. St. Augustine's Confessions, as was before observed, will ever be a record to show how much may be renounced, how much may be attained, through God's grace. He had said in another work, when charged with his previous life by enemies, "I do toil much in my thoughts, struggling

[1] See ch. v.

against my evil suggestions, and having lasting and almost continual conflict with the temptations of the enemy, who would subvert me. I groan to God in my infirmity; and He knoweth what my heart laboureth with."[1] And, indeed, never can it be said that a previous life goes for nothing, though it be ever so changed afterwards. The evil effects of bad customs still remain; and worldliness of mind, which it seems may be imputed to St. German's former state, is not the least permanent. About the very time at which St. German became Bishop of Auxerre, St. Augustine was using the following language concerning himself: "In this so vast wilderness, full of snares and dangers, behold many of them I have cut off, and thrust out of my heart, as Thou hast given me, O God of my salvation. And yet when dare I say, since so many things of this kind buzz on all sides about our daily life—when dare I say that nothing of this sort engages my attention, or causes in me an idle interest? True, the theatres do not now carry me away, nor care I to know the courses of the stars, nor did my soul ever consult ghosts departed; all sacrilegious mysteries I detest. . . . Notwithstanding, in how many most petty and contemptible things is our curiosity daily tempted, and how often we give way, who can recount? How often do we begin as if we were tolerating people telling vain stories, lest we offend the weak; then, by degrees, we take interest therein," &c.[2] But St. German was to re-

[1] Serm. 3, in Ps. 36, § 19. Apud Oxford Transl. of the Confessions, p. 223. Nota.

[2] Confess. Oxf. Transl. pp. 214, 215.

frain even from things in themselves lawful. His wife Eustachia was now to become his sister.[1] How fitly might he again say with St. Augustine: "Verily, Thou enjoinest me continency from the 'lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the ambition of the world.' Thou enjoinest continency from concubinage; and for wedlock itself Thou hast counselled something better than what Thou hast permitted. And since Thou gavest it, it was done, even before I became a dispenser of Thy sacrament. But there yet live in my memory the images of such things, as my ill custom there fixed; which haunt me strengthless when I am awake."[2] But more than this, there are pleasures innocent, and even elevating, which yet the Saint does not allow himself to enjoy. They seem to belong to higher natures than men have, and yet they are violently appropriated by the world, and they lose much of their real character by sinful and vain associations. But even then they seem to act as a soothing and efficacious remedy, like the essence which, though hidden in the admixture of useless ingredients, still reveals its valuable properties often unknown to the recipient. They tell to the unwary soul a tale of higher things; they utter accents, and breathe combinations, unheard among the realities of life. They say not whence they come, yet when the distance has been measured, they are beside the strait gate, and beckon of former acquaintance. "The delights of the ear," might St. German say with St. Augustine, "had firmly entangled and subdued me; but Thou didst

[1] See ch. vi.

[2] P. 205.

loosen and free me. Now in those melodies which Thy words breathe soul into, when sung with a sweet and attuned voice, I do a little repose; yet not so as to be held thereby, but that I can disengage myself when I will. But with the words which are their life, and whereby they find admission into me, themselves seek in my affections a place of some estimation, and I can scarcely assign them one suitable. For at one time I seem to myself to give them more honour than is seemly, feeling our minds to be more holily and fervently raised unto a flame of devotion by the holy words themselves, when thus sung than when not; and that the several affections of our spirit, by a sweet variety, have their own proper measures in the voice and singing, by some hidden correspondence wherewith they are stirred up. But this contentment of the flesh, to which the soul must not be given over to be enervated, doth oft beguile me, the sense not so waiting upon reason, as patiently to follow her; but having been admitted merely for her sake, it strives even to run before her, and leave her. Thus in these things I unawares sin, but afterwards am aware of it."[1]

III. Language is so moulded upon the fashions and customs of the world, that it appears often awkward, and even profane, to introduce some of its expressions into serious subjects. Of this kind is the word *literary*, which, as the usage of the day directs, seems very inappropriate to hagiology; and yet we are at a loss to find any equivalent term

[1] P. 210.

which may convey the idea intended without doing injury to clearness and simplicity. However, as religious men have used such expressions as "Sacred Literature" on the highest of all subjects, the same liberty may perhaps here be excused on a lower field of consideration. It should seem, then, that Saints may be divided into two classes—literary Saints and Saints not literary. Under the latter St. German ought to be ranked. Saints are seldom illiterate, which is different from not being literary; accession of knowledge is almost identical with growth in piety; and whether it be derived through books, or oral instruction, or meditation, it is almost invariably in some degree connected with holiness. It is supposed that this fact is very evident throughout the Middle Ages. Nothing could sometimes exceed the ignorance of men of the world, kings, barons, knights, and the retinue of courts; but monasteries, which then was a convertible term with abodes of religion, were very generally the seats of learning. The village which claimed the Abbot for its feudal suzerain was, doubtless, better instructed than that which lay at the foot of the baron's castle, nay, perhaps than the castle itself. These were two distinct currents passing along from generation to generation; the one carrying down to posterity an accumulated treasure of knowledge, the other stranding an uncouth conglomeration of heterogeneous gatherings. Here were the four faculties of the human soul said to have been defined and explained by Anselm, the Abbot of Bec:[1]

[1] Vita Guiberti Noving. Lib. i. ch. xvii.

Passion or Propension, Will, Reason, Intellect; a Book of Sentences; a Sum of Theology; the Bible. There were duels, witchcraft, gambling, point of honour, patronage, game laws, primogeniture, investitures, vassalage, constitutions. Knowledge is a toy with the world; they take it up or they throw it down as they please. The world is sometimes very learned, nay, it sometimes tosses higher than religion, or at least the umpires say so. But knowledge is the habitual food of the godly: it is healthy because it is more equable, it is digested all because it is well proportioned to the want; and the godly have none of those frenzies which an intemperate feast of learning will produce. Still Saints need not be literary any more than they need be noble by birth, which has sometimes been supposed of the Saints of certain ages. An occasional writing called forth by particular circumstances, or documents composed in the course of study merely to impress things on the memory, and to serve for the instruction of others, do not constitute a literary person. St. German apparently was thus situated. He was deeply learned, and was the teacher of great men. He may have written and been read. Yet he certainly was not a literary character. His merits are never in ancient records connected with this qualification. No one appealed to his writings, though many came to consult him in person. At present there is a vague notion that writing is the great means of commanding respect, and claiming a title to wisdom and judgment. In the primitive ages it seems men took a higher view of wisdom; they did not confound, as we do, the

faculty or the instrument with the substance. It was not necessary for things to be explicitly striking to be intrinsically valuable. A general tone, a habit, a consistency of speech and action, proclaimed the Christian wisdom more than a power of analysis, a perception of analogies, and a command of rhetorical resources. Can we doubt that a St. Polycarp would deserve confidence where a Tertullian might be distrusted? What was that divine unction which filled the speech of the blind Saint at Tyre, while he quoted and applied the Holy Scriptures from memory, in the presence of the assembled multitude, and which so thrilled the heart of the historian, that he became eloquent in spite of himself? Surely this was something in itself higher and more authoritative than the mere talent of writing, though it has often been combined with it. But so it is; those on whom the choicest favours of God seem to be bestowed are often unskilled in the arts of composition, or even in the more general modes of communicating their thoughts. A superficial observer may pass by, and assume that diffidence is incapacity. But those that have been near may have remarked a wonderful clear-sightedness, a facility in receiving knowledge, an elevation of thought, a power of distinguishing perversion from truth, an instinctive sense of the leaven of heresy, and a sympathetic discernment of what is orthodox, moral and holy, which have filled them with confusion at their own acute dulness and logical shallowness. They seemed to aim at nothing but God's will, and yet all came. They seemed too humble to seek to influence others, yet doubtless

they did influence them already, and would hereafter be prepared for any exertion which it should please their Divine Master to order. Is it not these that really lead the better part of mankind? Are they not the true incense of the Church, while the more brilliant are but the showy censer which distributes their fragrance?

This is a consideration which applies in a special manner to St. German, and at the same time explains how, after his death, the particular character of his mind would have been forgotten or lost in a general renown for wisdom and sanctity, and amid the more sensible and immediate tokens of his former life, as displayed by the miracles which survived him. For indeed writers have this privilege among many others, that they obtain a definite existence in the mind of posterity. There is a famous expression of Sidonius Apollinaris, which, as it may not be passed over in any life of St. German, furnishes also an apposite illustration of the foregoing remarks. St. Prosper of Orleans had requested him to celebrate the praises of St. Anian, who has been introduced to the reader in the preceding narrative. He writes back: "You desire me to extol the glory of the blessed Anian, that most eminent and perfect bishop, *equal to Lupus, and not unequal to German;* you wish that the minds of the faithful may be impressed with the practice, virtues, and gifts of so great a saint . . . know then that I had begun to write." It will be remarked that a kind of superiority due to St. German seems here to be implied; since a Saint might be equal to St. Lupus, yet still unequal to St. Ger-

man. But the passage is rather quoted for another purpose, namely, to indicate what might be considered the three types of a Saint in the fifth century in Gaul. And it is observable that none of these come under the denomination of literary men. There are indeed two letters of St. Lupus extant which, beside many other proofs, evince his superior attainments. Yet neither he, nor St. Anian, nor St. German, owe their reputation to any written productions. Their merits had something of a sacramental nature, which begat awe and silent reverence, and perhaps it would have been almost a lowering of their exalted position had they moved in the ranks of Saints and Authors. To understand which we have but to consider how painful to serious minds is the literary light, so to say, in which Paley, in his otherwise able work on St. Paul's Epistles, places the inspired writings of that Apostle. It is also conceivable that many may have been deterred from reading Lowth's Book on the Prophets, from the very object which it professes to aim at. And is it not a fact, that the higher we ascend in the contemplation of the different orders of intelligences, the less we expect as by instinct any of those symbols or modes of external influence, which we connect with associations of an inferior and more earthly character. The Apostles did write, yet we dare not call theirs writing in the ordinary sense. The Blessed Virgin on the other hand did not write ; we think indeed we discover a passage or two of Holy Scripture dictated by her, and perceive her influence presiding over much more; yet she must needs have another as the

medium of her thoughts. But further still, if we may reverently appeal higher, in the person of our divine Lord, so immeasurably above all that is man, though both Man and God, do we not think that it implies something derogatory to His nature to attribute to Him the use of any such channel of communication ? Is there not a silence and a mystery which encircles Him and those nearest to Him, incompatible with certain manifestations ? And does not the famous letter to King Abgarus fail to commend itself in some respects from this very circumstance ? One among many instances of this veil thrown over the Humanity of our blessed Lord, is the fact that no personal description has been left of Him, that depends upon any higher authority than vague and uncertain traditions. And then how little is known of those with whom this His Humanity was especially connected; His mother, St. Mary Magdalen, to whom He appeared first after the Resurrection, St. John who lay on His breast ! We know a great deal more about St. Paul than St. Peter; St. Paul saw the Lord in visions, St. Peter face to face. And there was perhaps a propriety arising from this same cause, in that St. Peter's preserved Epistles are general, while those of St. Paul are also often private. Now if this be true, it is certainly remarkable that with an authentic and somewhat circumstantial account of St. German's life extant, yet there should be a similar mystery spread over his character. It has been already observed, that no definite description has been left by Constantius either of his outward appearance or of his particular disposition and tone

of mind; nor has a single sentence of any writing of his come down to posterity; nay, but very shortly after his death it should seem nothing of the kind was forthcoming, though at the same time he was known to have possessed all the qualifications requisite. And what brings the parallel of his life with that of his divine Master still nearer, even the very facts of his career on earth were being obscured in the wonderful and miraculous consequences which followed upon his death; so that he also needed one that had "perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto Christian people in order that they might know the certainty of those things wherein they had been instructed."

If then we were to compare St. German with any Saints which had preceded him, we should not in a general aspect liken him to any of the Saints who sustained a literary fame, but rather with those sublime, unearthly types, whose best description is that they were mystic roses from the Holy Wood that budded, the fragrance of which spread far and wide, which yet none could embody into ostensible form; which lasted ever the same, though none knew how it passed on from generation—a St. Lawrence, a St. Nicolas, a St. Anthony, a St. Martin! And there are more reasons than this which seem to point out especially the second of the Saints just mentioned, St. Nicolas, as a just subject of comparison, as will be seen by the following extract from the Roman Breviary. "St. Nicolas having devoted his whole soul to God, undertook a journey to Palestine, in order to visit the holy

places, and manifest his veneration on the spot. When he had taken ship, though it was fair weather and the sea was quiet, he foretold to the sailors a dreadful tempest. The tempest came, and the passengers were all in extreme danger, but Nicolas prayed, and the tempest by miracle was assuaged. He returned home to Patara, in Lycia, after this journey, and gave the example of the most singular holiness. By divine admonition he then came to Myra, which was the metropolis of Lycia. Just at that time the Bishop of the city had died, and the provincial Bishops were consulting about the election of a successor. They also had received a divine intimation, urging them to elect the first who on the morrow should enter the Church in the morning and be called Nicolas. They did not disregard the command, and Nicolas was found on the morrow passing the doors of the Church, and with the consent of all was created Bishop of Myra. In his Episcopate he preserved that chastity which he had always maintained, and was noted for his wisdom, the frequency of his prayers, his vigils, abstinence, liberality and hospitality, his mildness in exhorting, and his severity in reproving."

END OF VOL. II.

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